FRISIAN REFERENCE GRAMMAR

PIETER MEIJES TIERSMA

Fryske Akademy - Ljouwert - 1999

FRISIAN REFERENCE GRAMMAR

FRISIAN REFERENCE GRAMMAR

Pieter Meijes Tiersma

Fryske Akademy – Ljouwert – 1999

FRYSKE AKADEMY
Nr. 886

2nd edition
ISBN 90-6171-886-4

1st edition published in 1985 by Foris Publications - Dordrecht

To my *heit* and *mem*,
Meije (Mark) and Aukje (Arlene) Tiersma

Contents

PREFACE

A great deal has happened in the world of Frisian linguistics since this book was first published around fifteen years ago. Ideally, a second edition of this grammar would be thoroughly revamped to take into account all of the work that has been done over the past years by linguistic researchers, especially at universities in the Netherlands and the Fryske Akademy (Frisian Academy). Unfortunately, I am now a law professor and in light of my present duties simply do not have the time for such an enterprise. Moreover, it appears unlikely that anyone else will undertake this task in the foreseeable future.

Because there is still a need for a relatively comprehensive grammar of Frisian in English, the Fryske Akademy has been kind enough to suggest and support a second publication of this book. The result is the grammar book that you now have in your hands. Additionally, at the time of this writing a Frisian-English dictionary is being completed and is slated for publication by the Fryske Akademy in the near future. The two works combined should make a good reference set for students or scholars beginning their study of Frisian. Those who wish to study the language in greater depth should find the notes and expanded bibliography in this book quite useful.

For those familiar with the first edition, I should note that changes in the text itself have been relatively modest. For the most part, I have limited myself to correcting errors and misprints in the first edition. In some instances, I have tried to state certain points more clearly. I have also replaced a few examples where I found better ones.

The major changes will be found in the notes interspersed in the text and in the bibliography. These changes are almost entirely the work of Jarich Hoekstra, formerly of the Fryske Akademy and now professor at the Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle at the Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel, Germany. Because he is so familiar with current research on Frisian, he has been able to add references and commentary to the textual notes regarding recent developments. Dr. Hoekstra has also brought the bibliography up to date. Both of these changes should be extremely useful to those interested in Frisian linguistics. I am very grateful to him for undertaking this task, as well as for his comments on other aspects of the first edition.

This grammar describes standard or literary Frisian (see section 1.3.2). Standard Frisian is based mainly on the dialect called *Klaaifrysk*, although it incorporates elements of other dialects also. And it tends to be fairly conservative, rejecting many Dutch words and constructions even when they are widely used among ordinary Frisian speakers. Because Standard Frisian is used for most literary efforts, is taught in the schools, and is used for official purposes, it will form the basis for this grammar. At the same time, I have tried

to avoid literary usage which is essentially unknown in spoken Frisian, or have commented to that effect in the notes or text.

This material is based upon work supported by the American Council of Learned Societies and by National Science Foundation grant number BNS 83-05781. I am grateful to them both. Several experts on Frisian or linguistics commented on drafts of the first edition, including (in no particular order): A. Feitsma, H. Meijering, T. de Graaf, T. Hoekema, S. Dyk, J. Hoekstra, K. van der Veen, G. de Haan, Max Morenberg, and Jeanne van Oosten. Matthea Cremers, who is now my wife, helped in proofreading the manuscript.

As to this second edition, I would like to thank Dr. Hitoshi Kodama, Tony Feitsma , and various reviewers for their comments on the original edition of this book. I also appreciate the assistance of the Fryske Akademy in seeing to its publication and distribution. Steven Lasswell meticulously helped correct the proofs and made numerous suggestions for improvement. Obviously, I remain ultimately responsible for any mistakes. I can only hope that in the process of eliminating errors and misprints in the first edition, not too many new ones have crept into this one.

Loyola Law School
Los Angeles, California, 90015

ABBREVIATIONS

Am.	*American*
Br.	*British*
dim.	*diminutive*
Eng.	*English*
fam.	*familiar* (the *do* form)
Fr.	*French*
Fri.	*Frisian*
Ger.	*German*
inf.	*infinitive*
lit.	*literary*
NP	*noun phrase*
pl.	*plural*
pol.	*polite*
p.p.	*past participle*
pres.	*present tense*
pret.	*preterite tense*
S1	*sentence 1* (the main clause or matrix sentence)
S2	*sentence 2* (the subordinate/dependent clause or embedded sentence)
sec.	*section*
sg.	*singular*
V1	*finite verb* (usually in second position in a declarative sentence)
V2	*non-finite verb(s)*
VP	*verb phrase*
1sg	*first person singular*
2pl	*second person plural*, etc.
*	(indicates an impossible form or sentence)
?	(indicates a questionable form or sentence)

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Frisian

Frisian is one of a number of Germanic languages, a family which also includes English, German, Dutch, Afrikaans, Norwegian, Danish, Faroese, Swedish, and Icelandic. Of these languages, the last five comprise what are known as the *Scandinavian* (or North Germanic) languages, while those remaining are classified as *West Germanic*. Dutch, Afrikaans, and German are closely related, just as the relationship between English and Frisian is, at least in historical terms, a close one.

Frisian, which is thus the living language most similar to English, is spoken in three main areas in The Netherlands and in Germany. Some ten thousand speakers of North Frisian live on the western coast of Schleswig-Holstein in Germany just beneath the Danish border. This region includes the environs of Naibel (Ger. *Niebüll*) and much of the rest of the area north of Bräist (*Bredstedt*), as well as the islands of Söl (*Sylt*), Feer *(Föhr)*, Oomram *(Amrum)* and Deät Lun *(Helgoland)*. (Note: throughout this book names of Frisian places are given in Frisian). The dialects spoken in these areas differ substantially from the other varieties of Frisian and also among themselves, to the extent that speakers from one region often cannot understand those from another. At this time virtually all varieties of North Frisian are severely threatened by German, although perhaps in part on account of this threat, there is increased appreciation of the cultural value which the survival of this language offers its speakers.

In a different region of Germany, located between the city of Oldenburg and the Dutch frontier, is the last remaining pocket of speakers of East Frisian. Real East Frisian should not to be confused with a type of Low German called *Ostfriesisch.* The real East Frisian was once extensively spoken throughout the countryside of what is known as *Ostfriesland.* Its use receded until the last speakers of the East Frisian Island dialect of Wangerooge died at the beginning of this century, leaving the inhabitants of Saterland as the only representatives of this variety of the language. In the villages of Schäddel (Ger. *Scharrel*), Strukelje *(Strücklingen)*, and Roomelse *(Ramsloh)*, some one to two thousand souls use East Frisian (*Seeltersk*) for their daily communicative needs.

This grammar will describe West Frisian, the language of three to four hundred thousand residents of the province of Fryslân in The Netherlands. The Dutch province of Groningen and the uppermost portion of the province of North Holland (still referred to locally as Westfriesland) were also heavily Frisian-speaking at one time, but the language has been displaced there by various Netherlandic dialects and, more recently, by Standard Dutch (Algemeen Nederlands).

NOTE: For an overview of the Frisian dialect situation, see Århammar (1968).

1.2. Origins

The first historical mention of the Frisians was made just after the time of Christ by Pliny, who locates them near the mouth of the Rhine. Tacitus later corroborates this. Nonetheless, the exact extent of Frisian territory in early times cannot be determined with absolute accuracy. What seems fairly certain is that Frisian was spoken along the North Sea coast between what is now the Iselmar (Du. IJsselmeer) in The Netherlands and the Weser River in Germany. It was also the language of the upper part of the province of North Holland and appears at times to have been spoken even further south along the coast. North Friesland was colonized from East or West Friesland in two migration waves in the 8th/9th century and the 11th/12th century, which accounts for the fact that the regions between East and North Friesland are not traditionally Frisian-speaking.

The earliest documentation of the Frisian language comes from East and West Friesland, mainly in the form of runic inscriptions and isolated words or names in Latin texts. The oldest complete texts in Frisian are legal documents which date from the thirteenth century, although they almost certainly reflect a language older than that. Until approximately 1550 several manuscripts containing mainly Frisian legal texts were compiled in both East and West Friesland. The language of this period is referred to as *Old Frisian*, even though Old Frisian does not overlap chronologically with other "old" Germanic dialects like Old English.

Although the hypothesis that Old Frisian and Old English are derived from a common mother tongue known as *Anglo-Frisian* is an oversimplification, it remains true that Frisian is genetically the closest related language to English. The tremendous influence of French on English and of Dutch on Frisian, along with natural changes over time, has obscured this, but even today certain features common to Frisian and English (as opposed to Dutch and German) document this relationship. One common development in English and Frisian is that *eg* became an *ei* or *ai* sound in certain positions, as the following words attest:

Frisian	*English*	*Dutch*	*German*
dei	day	dag	Tag
rein	rain	regen	Regen
wei	way	weg	Weg
neil	nail	nagel	Nagel

A related similarity is that *g* was converted to *j* (the sound of English *y*) in both languages under specific conditions:

Frisian	*English*	*Dutch*	*German*
jilde	yield	gelden	gelten
jern	yarn	garen	Garn
juster	yester(day)	gister	gestern

In much the same way, *k* became *ch* in English and *tsj* (which sometimes becomes *ts*) in Frisian:

Frisian	*English*	*Dutch*	*German*
tsjerke	church	kerk	Kirche
tsjerne	churn	karne	
tsiis	cheese	kaas	Käse
tsjef	chaff	kaf	Kaff

In a further development, the *n* before a voiceless fricative (*f, th*, or *s*) was largely lost in Old English and Old Frisian:

Frisian	*English*	*Dutch*	*German*
ús	us	ons	uns
goes	goose	gans	Gans
oar	other	ander	ander

One final feature common to English and Frisian is that an earlier *e* in the two languages (now pronounced [iə] in Frisian and [i] in English) corresponds to long *a* in the other West Germanic languages:

Frisian	*English*	*Dutch*	*German*
sliepe	sleep	slapen	schlafen
died	deed	daad	Tat
skiep	sheep	schaap	Schaf

NOTE: This is a limited and somewhat idealized list of these correspondences. More complete information is available in Markey (1981), Siebs (1889), or Sjölin (1969).

The language used in West Friesland from about 1550 to 1800 is known as *Middle Frisian.* By his time, Frisian had ceased to be the official language of the region, legal documents now for the most part being composed in Dutch. For some time Frisian lay dormant as a written tongue, until it was revived by the important poet Gysbert Japicx (1603-1666).

Inspired to a large extent by the writing of Japicx, the Halbertsma brothers of Grou ushered in the New Frisian period, which traditionally is regarded to have begun in approximately 1800. Their prolific writings form the basis for Frisian Romanticism and initiated a true revival of the language as a literary medium. The efforts of writers like Waling Dykstra, along with the establishment of the *Fryske Beweging* (Frisian Movement), have led to the elevation of Frisian from being viewed as just a "farmers' language" in the past century to what it is today - a medium which can be used in local government, schools, and churches, as well as in literary pursuits. Nonetheless, the ever greater pressures of larger languages, which ultimately threaten even established smaller tongues like Dutch, remain a powerful force which, willfully or otherwise, make the continued existence of minority languages a constant struggle.

1.3. West Frisian

1.3.1. The West Frisian dialects

West Frisian is spoken throughout the province of Fryslân, with the exception of the following areas. It is traditionally not spoken in It Bilt (Dutch *Het Bildt*), an area which was reclaimed from the sea in the sixteenth century and was subsequently settled by Dutch farmers. The people in It Bilt now speak a dialect of Dutch with a number of Frisian characteristics. Furthermore, in the Stellingwerven, a narrow strip of land between the river Tsjonger (Dutch *Kuinder*) and the province of Drenthe, as well as in the area around Kollum in the northeast corner of the province, Saxon dialects are spoken, albeit with varying measures of Frisian influence.

As Frisian ceased to be the official language in the sixteenth century, the language of government and commerce increasingly became Dutch, a trend which only recently has begun to swing back to Frisian in a limited number of domains. Government and trade being largely the prerogative of the cities, it came about that the residents of the larger towns developed dialects based on Dutch, although heavily influenced by Frisian. These dialects, called *Stedfrysk* or "Town Frisian", are today spoken in the cities of Ljouwert (*Leeuwarden*), Snits (*Sneek*), Dokkum, Frjentsjer (*Franeker*), Boalsert (*Bolsward*), Harns (*Harlingen*), Starum (*Stavoren*), and in the village of Kollum. Many of these "mixed" dialects are being supplanted by Standard Dutch at present.

Of the four Frisian islands, the language is indigenous today to Skiermûntseach (*Schiermonnikoog*) and Skylge (*Terschelling*). Each of these islands must be considered a separate speech area, for their dialects differ significantly not only from those on the mainland, but also from one another. All the island dialects are severely threatened by Dutch. The island of Amelân (*Ameland*) has long had a Dutch dialect with Frisian influence.

The mainland itself forms a much more homogeneous speech community. One fairly divergent dialect, showing certain similarities with the speech of the islands, is that of Hylpen (*Hindeloopen*). The surrounding land, the southernmost part of the province known as the *Súdwesthoeke*, is one of the major dialect areas of mainland Frisian, although its speech is easily understood by others. It is distinguished from *Klaaifrysk*, spoken roughly in the western half of the province, and *Wâldfrysk*, the language of the eastern section, largely by the absence of the phonological process of breaking (see section 2.1.2.6). One of the most salient features identifying speakers of Wâldfrysk is that they pronounce pronouns such as *hy* (Klaaifrysk: [hɛi]) 'he' and *my* (Klaaifrysk: [mɛi]) 'me' as [hi] and [mi], respectively. A subgrouping of Klaaifrysk is the *Noardklaai* dialect of the area known as the Dongeradielen.

NOTE: On the dialects of West Frisian, see Boelens and Van der Woude (1955) and Hof (1933).

1.3.2. Standard Frisian

The vast majority of the languages of the world do not possess a "standard" variety. Rather, the most common situation, which once held also for now well-established languages like French, English, and Dutch, is when a language is divided into a number of dialects, none of which is considered superior to the others. This was essentially the state of affairs in The Netherlands during the Middle Ages, for example. Several Germanic dialects were in use at the time, and the few people who were literate in the vernacular wrote essentially as they spoke. This situation began to change as the region of Holland consolidated its influence over the surrounding areas. The language of Holland thus came to be increasingly used in administration and trade throughout The Netherlands, especially after the Union of Utrecht in 1579. This led to its being recognized as the standard dialect of all of The Netherlands, making it the medium of the schools, churches, and of government. Similar scenarios describe the development of many other standard languages. In a linguistic sense, then, a language is simply a group of closely related dialects. One of these dialects, often that spoken by the largest number of speakers or by those having the greatest power, is accepted by all other speakers, or is forced upon them, as a 'standard'.

While leery of the inherent pressure towards homogeneity which the development of a standard language entails, Frisian scholars and activists, in part because of a need for an interregional variety of the language to be used for writing, in bilingual education, in schools, and to be taught to interested non-Frisians, developed a literary language which is based largely on the Klaaifrysk dialects. As with other such languages, Standard Frisian is quite conservative in nature, often resisting the use of Dutch loanwords long after they are firmly entrenched in spoken Frisian. But in view of the ease with which Dutch words are accepted into Frisian, sometimes supplanting very basic vocabulary items, these purist tendencies are certainly understandable.

Because Dutch remains the predominant language of church, state, and most importantly, of education, Standard Frisian has had limited opportunities to make significant advances. If anything, the "watering down" of Frisian through the acceptance of ever more Dutch elements into the language has accelerated with the advent of mass communication and increased mobility of the population. At the same time, however, Standard Frisian has gained some important support in the past decade or two through greater use of the language in the schools and by the regional and provincial governing bodies, to the extent that some non-Frisian-speaking residents of the province have declared themselves discriminated against when available civil service positions are advertised in Frisian only!

Nonetheless, because a fair amount of dialectal diversity is still found in the literary language, Standard Frisian does not have as strict a norm as do many other standard languages. In this grammar I have attempted, where variation exists, to include the most common form found in the literary and spoken language. At the same time, I have sometimes added, often in parentheses or with a note to the effect, variants which are widely accepted in the written and/or spoken language. Still, this work adheres closely to the literary standard in that

Dutch loanwords or constructions are avoided unless they are so well established that they cannot be ignored.

NOTE: For a comprehensive characterization of Standard Frisian and its relation to the Frisian dialects, see Van der Woude (1960).

1.3.3. The status of Frisian

For many of the years that Friesland has been part of The Netherlands, some dialect of Dutch was the prestige language and Frisian was relegated to the status of "farmers' language." As such it was used almost exclusively in the home and in social gatherings in rural settings. In the schools, in church, in the cities, and in most governmental offices the medium of communication was some Dutch dialect. A person who spoke Frisian in such Dutch language domains was not seen as making a statement that Frisian could be used in speaking to, for example, a doctor, but was generally regarded as too ignorant or provincial to speak Dutch to someone who obviously deserved more respect than to be addressed in a peasants' tongue.

While few would describe the situation in Friesland today in those terms, this legacy of Frisian not being considered appropriate under certain circumstances has survived as part of the consciousness of many Frisians. At the same time, there have been significant strides made recently in expanding the domains in which Frisian can be used. The increasing attention being paid to minority ethnic groups and languages throughout Europe and the traditionally strong sense of pride which most Frisians have fostered regarding their culture and their speech have combined to breathe new life into the Frisian Movement during the past few decades.

A study undertaken in 1980 sampled the language attitudes of a representative group (some 1100) of the approximately one-half million inhabitants of the province (Gorter *et al.*, 1984). It was discovered that approximately 54% of the respondents considered Frisian a first language. Some 73% claim to be able to speak it, and 94% can understand it. The percentages of those who can read the language (65%) and especially those who can write it (10%) are considerably lower. It should be emphasized that this survey includes all of the province, even those areas which have been essentially non-Frisian speaking for centuries.

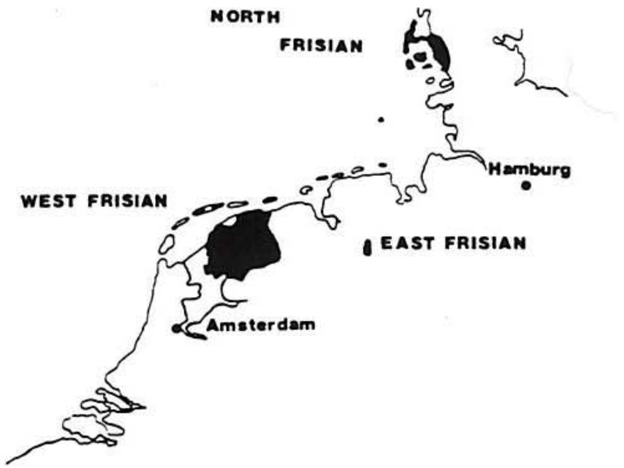
In terms of language loyalty, it is interesting that 52% of those sampled speak exclusively Frisian to a spouse/partner, and that another 4% speak both Frisian and some Dutch dialect (Town Frisian, Standard Dutch, etc.). Approximately 24% use Standard Dutch exclusively for this purpose, while 13% use a local dialect (mainly Town Frisian or a Saxon dialect). Of those in the sample who speak Frisian, only 60% speak it to a shopkeeper, and only 42% report that they converse with the doctor in their first language. Apparently, some Frisians fear that people of perceived higher social status (who are often a more mobile segment of the population and therefore are less likely to work in their area of birth) either will not understand Frisian or will find it impolite to be addressed in the local language.

Recently, certain steps have been taken to improve this state of affairs. The most important of these is a new law which requires that Frisian lessons, optional in the past, become a mandatory (although sometimes marginal) part of the curriculum of all Frisian schools for approximately one hour a week. Many regional governmental bodies in the province have begun to include knowledge of Frisian as one of the qualifications for employment as a civil servant, a radical departure from former practices.

Meanwhile, the Estates of Friesland have begun to take a more active and positive role in Frisian affairs. And the Fryske Akademy (Frisian Academy) in Ljouwert continues its work in promoting and investigating all aspects of Frisian language and culture. Perhaps its most ambitious project to date is the compilation of a multi-volume dictionary, intended as an exhaustive listing of all the lexical items of modern West Frisian. The Frisian programs of the Dutch universities (in Amsterdam, Leiden, and Groningen) also contribute a great deal to furthering our knowledge about both old and modern Frisian.

No one can predict with any certainty what will become of languages like Frisian in the next few centuries, or for that matter, whether even more established languages like Danish or Dutch will be able to withstand sociological factors – increased population mobility and the spread of mass communication, for instance – which militate against the survival of smaller languages. At the same time, the value of maintaining one's culture, in which the preservation of the language plays a pivotal role, is being increasingly recognized, especially in those parts of the world which through modernization and industrialization have lost much of what once rendered them distinct from others. In the final analysis, to maintain one's identity as a Frisian, one must speak Frisian. And to understand the Frisians, one must first understand their language.

NOTE: For further information on the sociolinguistic status of Frisian, see Pietersen (1969), Smith (1980), Boelens (1976), Boelens *et al.* (1981), Feitsma (1981), Gorter (1981), Gorter *et al.* (1984), and various articles in Zondag (1982). A follow-up of the language survey of Gorter *et al.* (1984) is Gorter and Jonkman (1995). For a critical evaluation of the results, see De Haan (1996b).



CURRENT STATUS OF FRISIAN



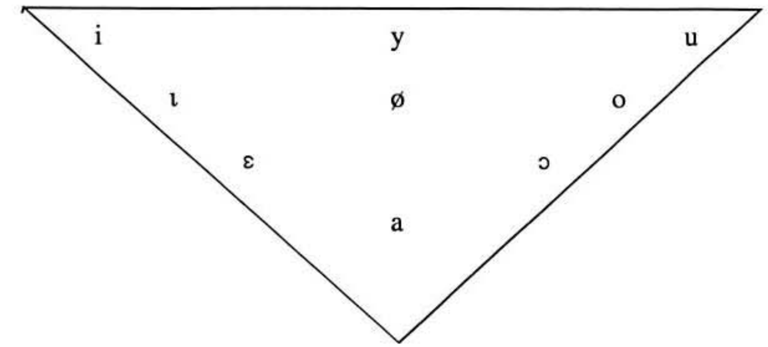
WEST FRISIAN DIALECTS

(An asterisk after a name or in an area indicates that it is not or no longer Frisian speaking).

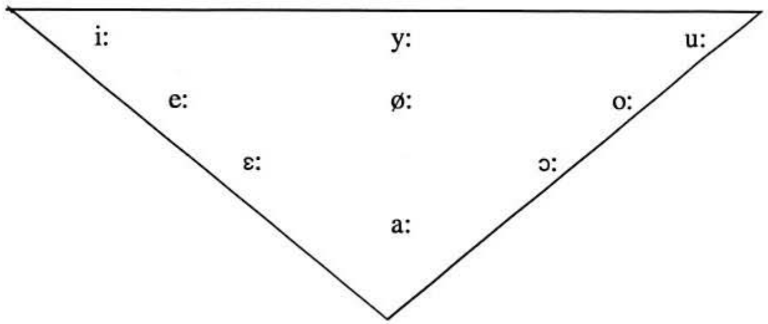
2 PRONUNCIATION

2.1. The Frisian vowels

West Frisian has a rich vowel inventory, containing nine short and nine long vowels, along with a large variety of diphthongs and, according to some analyses, triphthongs. The short vowels can be diagrammed as follows:



The long vowels are articulated in the same place as are the short vowels, for the most part, but tend to be considerably longer in duration:



2.1.1. The vowel inventory

All the vowels are presented below in the International Phonetic Alphabet, and these phonetic representations are placed in square brackets: [ ]. When a colon [:] follows a vowel, it indicates that the vowel is long.

After each vowel in the list below, some examples of words containing the vowel are given to show how the sound is typically spelled, followed by some indications of how the vowel is pronounced, often by comparing it to similar

sounds in English or other commonly known languages. Of course, examples from other languages should be viewed with considerable caution: they are only very rough approximations at times, and the pronunciations are subject to dialectal variation.

Vowel	*Examples*	*Description*
[i]	wyt, bite	A short high front unrounded vowel, as in Eng. *beat* or Dutch *fiets*.
[i:]	wiid, lige	A long high front unrounded vowel, similar to Eng. *bead* or *cheese*.
[ɩ]	wit, sitte	A short high mid front unrounded vowel, as in Eng. *sit*.
[e:]	see, wegen	A long high mid front unrounded vowel, similar to Eng. *ate* or *say*. [e:] is functionally the long vowel corresponding to [ɩ], although it differs in being slightly diphthongal by ending in a [i] offglide, as [e.^{i}].
[ɛ]	west, sette	A short low mid front unrounded vowel, as in Eng. *west* or *set*.
[ɛ:]	wêze, fêst	A long low mid front unrounded vowel, somewhat like the [æ] in Am. Eng. *fast* or *bad*. This vowel is often pronounced with an [ə] offglide as [ɛ.^{ə}], similar to the vowel in southern Am. Eng. *fast*.
[a]	acht, sa	A short low unrounded vowel, as in Ger. *Mann* or Fr. *bas*. Short [a] is rare before [t d n s l].
[a:]	aap, wa	A long low unrounded vowel, as in Ger. *Sahne* or Dutch *maan*.
[ɔ]	slop, gat	A short low mid back vowel, similar to Eng. *law*.
[ɔ:]	âld, bôle	A long low mid back vowel, which like [ɛ:] is usually diphthongized to [ɔ.^{ə}].
[o]	skom, op	A short high mid back vowel, similar to the vowel of *caught* in those English dialects which distinguish this vowel from that in *cot*.
[o:]	hoopje, do	A long high mid back vowel, as in Eng. *hope* or *boat*. It is the long equivalent of [o], but differs in being slightly diphthongal by ending in an [u] offglide, as

		[o.^{u}]. It never occurs before dental consonants within a single morpheme (but cf. *stode*, pret. of *stowe*.)
[u]	bûse, doek	A short high back vowel, as in Eng. *shoot* or Ger. *Hund*.
[u:]	lûd, hûd	A long high back vowel, as in Eng. *wooed* and *lose*, or as in Ger. *Huhn*.
[y]	út, tún	A short high front rounded vowel, as in Fr. *vue* and *tu*, or Ger. *fünf*.
[y:]	drúf, skúf	A long high front rounded vowel, as in Ger. *Gefühl* or *Mühle*.
[ø]	put	A short mid front rounded vowel, similar to the vowel in Eng. *would*.
[ø:]	reus, sneu	A long mid front rounded vowel, similar to the sound of Ger. *Söhne*. It is the long equivalent of [ø], but differs in being diphthongal by ending in an [y] offglide, as [ø.^{y}].
[ə]	de, hier*e*	An uncolored, reduced vowel known as *schwa*. Phonetically it is quite similar to [ø]. Especially the short vowels have a tendency to be pronounced as schwa when in an unstressed syllable. In terms of pronunciation, Frisian schwa is similar to the *e* in Eng. *roses*.

A diphthong, as opposed to a "pure" vowel, is a vowel sound with two separate vocalic elements. These may be two full vowels, as in [ai], or a vowel followed by schwa, as in [iə]. Combinations of semivowels and vowels, like [wo], can also be considered diphthongs, but here they will be analyzed as two separate segments. The following are the diphthongs of Standard Frisian.

Diphthong	*Examples*	*Description*
[iə]	stien, iel	An [i] sound followed closely by schwa, similar to the vowel of Am. Eng. *steel* or of Br. Eng. *beer*.
[ɩə]	beam, hea, ear	An [ɩ] or short [e] sound followed by a schwa offglide, somewhat akin to the vowel of Dutch *beer*, or vaguely like the sound in Am. Eng. *pail* or *bale*.
[uə]	hoed, woe	A [u] followed by schwa, much like the Dutch [u] before [r], as in *boer*, or as in Br. Eng. *sewer*.

[oə]	boat, oar	A sound similar to that in Br. Eng. *four* and *shore*, or to the vowel in Dutch *oor*.
[yə]	flues, nuet	A relatively rare diphthong made up of [y] with a schwa offglide, as in the vowel in Dutch *vuur*.
[øə]	freon, bleaun	The first element is a sound between [ø] and [ø:], followed by schwa, much like the sound of Dutch *deur*.
[ɛi]	hy, bakker*ij*	A sound like Eng. [æ] or shortened Frisian [ɛ:] followed by [ɩ] or [i], resembling Dutch *ei* or *ij*.
[øy]	stuit, spuie	The first element is actually somewhat lower than the Frisian [ø], while the second approaches [y]. It is similar to Dutch *ui*.
[ui]	bloeie	A [u] followed by [i], as in Eng. *buoy* or Dutch *bloei*. In some areas of Friesland, speakers still use a long diphthong [u:i], which they keep distinct from [ui].
[oəi]	moai, koai	This diphthong (triphthong) begins with [oə] or [o:] and ends in [i]. The sound resembles the *oy* in Eng. *boy*.
[a:i]	kaai, waaie	A long [a:] followed by [i], something like the vowel in Eng. *high* or Dutch *saai*. In many areas it is presently pronounced as [ɔ:i].
[ai]	maits	A short [a] followed by [i], as in Eng. *sight* or *kite*.
[au]	hout, gau	The first element is articulated variously as [a] or [ɔ] with a following [u]. It is usually pronounced like the vowel in Am. Eng. *out*.

The symbols used to represent the diphthongs are in some ways a bit arbitrary. For example, the first element of [øy] does not occur in the standard language as an independent vowel, and so the [ø] is used only as an approximation of this sound. In addition, a diphthong like [ai] is not just the vowel [a] followed by an [i], as I have rather simplistically described it above, but instead represents *movement* from a sound near [a] to a sound near [i], including all the articulatory positions between the beginning and end points. What distinguishes a "pure" vowel from a diphthong, then, is that the former is one protracted articulatory gesture, while a diphthong involves movement from one point of articulation to another.

Frisian is often analyzed as having triphthongs, such as [i̯ou] in *leauwe* and *bleau*, [u̯ai] in *moaier*, or [u̯oi] in *muoike* and *muoite*. It is also possible, however, to regard these as the glides [j] or [w], followed by a vowel or diphthong, as I do here.

NOTE: For further information on the phonetics of the Frisian vowels, see De Graaf and Meinsma (1980), De Graaf and Tiersma (1980), Eijkman (1907), and Meinsma and De Graaf (1978).

2.1.2. Rules governing the vowels

2.1.2.1. Nasalization

Any vowel plus *n* combination in Frisian which precedes one of the consonants *s*, *z*, *f*, *v*, *j*, *r*, *l*, or *w* becomes a nasalized vowel. A nasalized vowel is indicated phonetically by the presence of a tilde [˜] over the vowel. Thus the word *yn* [in] 'in' when followed by *sjen* [sjɛn] 'see' becomes [ĩsjɛn] 'look in'. To phrase it a bit differently, a vowel plus *n* becomes a nasalized vowel before any continuant consonant besides *h*. Some examples:

ûns	'ounce'	→	[ũ:s]
ynfalle	'fall in'	→	[ĩfɔlə]
ynwenje	'live in'	→	[ĩvɛ̃jə]
ynjaan	'give in'	→	[ĩja:n]
ynrinne	'walk in'	→	[ĩrɩnə]
ynlizze	'lie in'	→	[ĩlɩzə]

When a short vowel plus *n* is followed by an *s*, the vowel is not simply nasalized, but also lengthened. So *winst* 'profit' (from *winne*) is pronounced [vẽ:st]. Note also examples such as those below:

prins	'prince'	→	[prẽ:s]
geunst	'favor'	→	[gø̃:st]
ferskynsel	'phenomenon'	→	[fəskĩ:səl]
minst	'least'	→	[mẽ:st]
jûns	'in the evening'	→	[jũ:s]
moarns	'in the morning'	→	[mwã:s]

A number of speakers, often older, lengthen nasalized vowels before the *st* suffix of the second person singular verb form:

winst	'(you) win'	→	[vẽ:st]
gunst	'(you) favor'	→	[gø̃:st]
wynst	'(you) wind'	→	[vĩ:st]

However, most Frisians today keep the short vowel throughout the verb paradigm, as in [vĩst] and [gø̃st]. Usually, the long vowel remains in other forms, as in the nouns above like *geunst* '(a) favor'.

The lengthening of nasalized vowels before *s* occurs only when the vowel is stressed. While *prins* is pronounced [prẽ:s], the corresponding unaccented vowel in *prinses* 'princess' [prĩ'sɛs] remains short. Compare also *provinsje* [pro'vẽ:sjə] 'province' with *provinsjaal* [provĩ'sja:l] 'provincial'.

Nasalization does not occur before other consonants or before vowels. Thus the *n* is pronounced normally in words like *ynhelje* 'take in' [inhɛljə], *yntaapje* 'pour in' [inta:pjə], and *unaardich* 'unpleasant' [una:dəx].

NOTE: On nasalization, see also Van Coetsem (1956), Van der Meer (1976), Riemersma (1979), Visser (1985), De Haan (1988) and Visser (1991).

2.1.2.2. Alternation of [i] *and* [jə]

When [i] occurs at the end of a word, it generally is converted to [jə]. Thus, words acquired from other languages through Dutch, like *demonstratie* 'demonstration', *koffie* 'coffee', and *politie* 'police' become *demonstraasje*, *kofje*, and *p(o)lysje* in Frisian. An exception is *akademy*, which exists alongside the older *akadeemje*. Words of this type can, in colloquial speech, also be spoken with [i] in place of the [jə]. The same variation is possible for indigenous words which end in [i], for the most part limited to [di] 'day', a shortened form of the *dei* found in compound words:

middei	'afternoon'	→	[mɩdi] or [mɩdjə]
jierdei	'birthday'	→	[jɩdi] or [jɩdjə]
moandei	'Monday'	→	[mandi] or [mandjə]

A *-je* which occurs at the end of a word, usually as part of the diminutive suffix or as a verbal suffix, can, in some dialects, be pronounced as [i]:

keapje	'buy'	→	[kIəpi]
meitsje	'make'	→	[maitsi]
bytsje	'bit'	→	[bitsi]
rekkenje	'count'	→	[rɛkəni]
hantsje	'small hand'	→	[hɔntsi]
mantsje	'small man'	→	[mɔntsi]

It is less common for this process to occur following the velar consonants *ch*, *k*, or *g* - the *je* in words like *barchje* 'small pig', *bargje* 'to mess', and *hoekje* 'small corner' is less likely to be pronounced [i]. In the standard language, variants with *je* are preferred.

NOTE: For detailed discussion of the [i]/[jə] alternation, see Visser (1993a).

2.1.2.3. The diphthong [a:i]

Many older speakers still make a systematic distinction between the long diphthong [a:i] and the shorter [ai]. There is thus an opposition, reflected in the spelling, between *dei* [dai] 'day' and *daai* [da:i] 'dough', as well as between *kleie* [klaiə] 'complain' and *klaaie* [kla:iə] 'dress'. Also, the long diphthong can be shortened under the appropriate circumstances: [a:i] 'egg' becomes short in [aikə] 'small egg' and in [aisikjə] 'hunt for eggs' (for details see sec. 2.1.2.5).

NOTE: Many younger speakers have only a single phoneme [ai], of which [a:i] is a predictable variant. The short diphthong is found in closed syllables, as in the words *heit* 'father' and *wein* 'wagon'. In open syllables the long diphthong occurs, as in *dei* and *kleie*. For these younger speakers there is no longer a distinction between, for example, *dei* and *daai* - both are pronounced [da:i], just as *kleie* and *klaaie* are both [kla:iə]. A stem which ends in an open syllable and thus has a long diphthong retains it even when the syllable is closed by the addition of an inflectional ending: the vowel of [kla:iə] remains long in [kla:it] '(he) dresses', despite the fact that it is now technically in a closed syllable. But notice that *leit* '(he) lies' and *seit* '(he) says' have the short diphthong, even though the *t* may be viewed as an inflectional suffix. The reason for this appears to be that these are irregular verbs, derived from the infinitives *lizze* and *sizze*. Hence *leit* is apparently felt to be an indivisible unit, rather than a stem *lei* plus suffix *t*.

2.1.2.4. Truncation

Frisian has a large number of words which end in schwa, such as the last vowels in the nouns *hikke*, *sinne*, *flesse*, *side*, and *bile*, and verbs like *ite*, *binne*, *wêze*, etc. Often this final schwa can be deleted, a process called *truncation*. Truncation is required when a diminutive ending or the plural suffix *-en* is added to nouns with final schwa:

hikke	'gate'	→	*hikje*	'small gate'
			hikken	'gates'
sinne	'sun'	→	*sintsje*	'small sun'
			sinnen	'suns'
flesse	'bottle'	→	*fleske*	'small bottle'
			flessen	'bottles'

Truncation also takes place when other suffixes are added to nouns ending in schwa, as when *-ich* is suffixed to *sinne*, producing *sinnich* 'sunny'.

With noun compounds there is no hard and fast rule. Sometimes the final vowel is retained, as in *sinnebril* 'sunglasses' and in *sinneljocht* 'sunlight'. Other times it is deleted, as the forms *sydpaad* 'side path' and *sydstrjitte* 'side street' (from *side*) attest. A few words admit both possibilities - either *hikpeal* or *hikkepeal* is permissible for 'gatepost' (from *hikke* 'gate' and *peal* 'post'). This is a lexical matter which must be determined by looking in a dictionary.

In conversational styles of speech, final schwa is also truncated quite frequently, especially in rapid speech. This is an optional process, for it is never *required* that the vowel be dropped. Truncation of this kind occurs most often when a verb that ends in a schwa is directly followed by a vowel, as in *wy binn(e) altyd thús* 'we are always home' or *wy witt(e) alles oer syn mem* 'we know everything about his mother'. Before consonants it can also happen: *jimm(e) it(e) wol ris te folle* 'you sometimes eat too much'. Notice that the pronoun *jimme* can undergo truncation, as can nouns: *hoe let giet de sinn(e) op?* 'what time does the sun rise?' Nonetheless, optional truncation is most common with verbs in rapid speech. Schwa is *never* truncated before a pause, except that *jimme* 'you' can sometimes occur as *jim*, in which case it is better considered an independent variant of *jimme*.

NOTE: On the status of the noun ending *-e*, see Visser (1994). Morphological truncation is not limited to *-e*; it may occasionally apply to other unstressed noun endings as well: *Drachtster* 'inhabitant of *Drachten*', *Jouster* 'inhabitant of *De Jouwer*', *sunich* 'soft; slow' - *súntsjes* 'slowly' (cf. Hoekstra (1998)).

2.1.2.5. Shortening

Often when a suffix is added to a stem containing a long vowel, that vowel undergoes shortening. The following vowel changes can occur under appropriate conditions:

[i:]	→	[i]
[e:]	→	[ɪ]
[ɛ:]	→	[ɛ]
[a:]	→	[a]
[y:]	→	[y]
[ø:]	→	[ø]
[u:]	→	[u] or [y]
[o:]	→	[o]
[ɔ:]	→	[ɔ]

This process is very common in the formation of noun plurals and diminutives, as these examples show:

hân		'hand'	→	*hannen*		'hands'
				hantsje		'small hand'
mûs	[mu:s]	'mouse'	→	*mûzen*	[muzən]	'mice'
				muske	[muskə]	'small mouse'
hûs	[hu:s]	'house'	→	*huzen*	[huzən] or [hyzən]	'houses'
				hûske	[huskə] or [hyskə]	'small house'
faam		'maid'	→	*fammen*		'maids'
				famke		'girl'

Sometimes shortening takes place in the diminutive but not in the plural:

bêd	'bed'	→	*bêden*		'beds'
			bedsje		'small bed'
piip	'pipe'	→	*pipen*	[pi:pən]	'pipes'
			pypke	[pipkə]	'small pipe'

While shortening is most common with noun plurals and diminutives, it also occurs when other suffixes are added to a stem with a long vowel:

wiis		'wise'	→	*wysheid*		'wisdom'
bern	[bɛ:n]	'child'	→	*bernachtich*	[bɛnaxtəx]	'child-like'
heech		'high'	→	*hichte*		'height'
lêst		'bother'	→	*lestich*		'bothersome'
tiid		'time'	→	*tydlik*		'temporary'

baarch	'pig'	→	*bargje*	'make a mess'
reek	'smoke'	→	*rikje*	'(to) smoke'
fiif	'five'	→	*fyftich*	'fifty'

A long vowel in a stem that becomes the first element of a compound may also be shortened in some cases:

tiid	'time'	→	*tydskrift*	'newspaper'
aai	'egg'	→	*aisykje*	'hunt for eggs'
hân	'hand'	→	*hanfol*	'handful'
bêd	'bed'	→	*bedtiid*	'bedtime'

A type of shortening in verbs involves the diphthong *ie*, which under appropriate conditions can be shortened to *e*. Below is the paradigm for *briede* 'roast; breed', which can serve as a model for *bliede* 'bleed', *liede* 'ring', and *riede* 'guess':

1sg.	*bried*	pl.	*briede*
2sg.	*bretst*	pret.	*brette*
3sg.	*bret*	p.p.	*bret*

NOTE: Shortening in verbs is gradually dying out. Many speakers have the diphthong or long vowel throughout the present tense paradigm, sometimes retaining the short vowel in the pret. and the p.p. It would appear that this process was once much more pervasive in the language, as evidenced by the fact that the island dialects have extensive shortening in verbs. The dialectal variation between verbs with long vowels and the same verbs with short vowels, like [farə]-[fa:rə] 'sail', [ridə]-[ri:də] 'ride', [sikjə]-[si:kjə] 'seek', and [stjɛrə]-[stjɛ:rə] 'die', suggests that shortening may have previously been much more common in the mainland dialects. On historical shortening in the verbal paradigm, see also Hoekstra (1989a).

One final type of shortening which merits brief mention is what I will call *allegro shortening*, or that kind of shortening which occurs in rapid conversational speech styles. The words *miskien* 'maybe', *stiet* 'stands', *giet* 'goes', and *hieltyd* 'always' are sometimes pronounced [məskin], [stit], [git], and [hiltit]. The verbs *woe* 'would', *soe* 'should', *wie* 'was', and *die* 'did' may also have the vowel [u] or [i] in rapid speech, instead of the expected diphthong. Similarly, *hûs* in fixed expressions is shortened to [hus] or [hys], as in *nei hûs/hús ta* '(to) home'. The number *twa* [twa:] 'two' has a long vowel in isolation which is reduced in phrases like [twa hyzən] 'two houses'.

2.1.2.6. Breaking

The phenomenon known as *breaking* involves the alternation of falling (unbroken) and rising (broken) diphthongs:

falling diphthong	*rising diphthong*
[iə]	[jɪ]
[ɪə]	[jɛ]

[uə]	[wo]
[oə]	[wa]

There are some isolated cases of breaking of [yə] to [jø] - the related words *sluere* and *sljurkje*, both meaning '(to) slide' exhibit this, along with one or two other examples. This is so rare that it will not be considered further.

As with shortening, to which it bears a certain resemblance, breaking is most common in nouns, where the falling diphthong in the noun singular is replaced by the corresponding rising diphthong in the diminutive or the plural:

doar	[doər]	'door'	→	*doarren*	[dwarən]	'doors'
				doarke	[dwarkə]	'small door'
hier	[hiər]	'hair'	→	*hierren*	[(h)jɪrən]	'hairs'
				hierke	[(h)jɪrkə]	'small hair'
foet	[fuət]	'foot'	→	*fuotten*	[fwotən]	'feet'
				fuotsje	[fwotsjə]	'small foot'
beam	[bɪəm]	'tree'	→	*beammen*	[bjɛmən]	'trees'
				beamke	[bjɛmkə]	'small tree'

Note that only the diphthong *oe* clearly shows the presence of breaking in the spelling. In a few cases, such as noun plurals, breaking is indicated by doubling the following consonant. Elsewhere, however, the spelling offers no clue as to whether breaking does or does not apply. For example, it is impossible to tell from the spelling of *doarke* 'small door' if the pronunciation should be [doərkə] or [dwarkə]. It happens to be the latter. Yet a similar word, *boarke* 'small drill', is never broken to [bwarkə], but can only be pronounced [boərkə].

Breaking is also quite common where the breakable diphthong is found in the first element of a complex word (a derived word or compound), although once again it is not generally indicated by the spelling:

beam	'tree'	→	*beammich*	[bjɛməx]	'wooded'
			beamtûke	[bjɛmtukə]	'tree branch'
jier	'year'	→	*jierdei*	[jɪdi] or [jidjə]	'birthday'
			jierrich	[jɪrəx]	'aged'
heak	'hook'	→	*heakje*	[(h)jɛkjə]	'to hook'
sied	'seed'	→	*siedzje*	[sjɪdzjə]	'sow'
goed	'good'	→	*guodlik*	[gwodlək]	'goodly'
foar	'before'	→	*foarlik*	[fwalək]	'premature'
boade	'messenger'	→	*boadskip*	[bwatskɪp]	'message'
priem	'(knitting) needle'	→	*priemsk*	[prjɪmsk]	'sharp'
Ie	(a village)	→	*Iester*	[jɪstər]	'resident of Ie'

Obviously, these forms are just a sampling of the environments in which breaking may be found. Individual cases are discussed more fully in the relevant sections on morphology.

A small number of adjectives undergo breaking when the comparative or superlative suffix is added. The adjective *moai* 'pretty' is often broken in the comparative *moaier* [mwaiər] and the superlative *moaist* [mwaist].

Only one 'regular' verb, *sliepe* 'sleep', has breaking in its conjugation. The relevant forms for this verb are:

1sg.	*sliep*	[sliəp]	pl.	*sliepe*	[sliəpə]
2sg.	*sliepst*	[sljɪpst]	pret.	*sliepte*	[sljɪptə]
3sg.	*sliept*	[sljɪpt]	p.p.	*sliept*	[sljɪpt]

The auxiliary verb *doare* 'dare' occasionally also exhibits breaking in its paradigm, which is listed in sec. 4.2.5.1.

The actual environment in which the rule of breaking occurs cannot be specified with any degree of accuracy. The basic condition is that breaking may take place when a suffix is added to a word containing one of the "breakable" diphthongs. Yet even when this environment is satisfied, as it is with noun plurals, only very roughly one half of the potential inputs to the rule actually undergo it. For every noun like *doar*, which is broken in the plural to [dwarən], there is one like *boar* which is not. Verbs and adjectives very rarely are subject to the rule, except when they occur as the first element in a compound or derived word.

In phonetic terms, breaking originally occurred before clusters of two or more consonants, or when a falling diphthong was followed by an unstressed syllable. This is still evident in a number of words which do not alternate synchronically, i.e., which have the broken diphthong in all forms, as do *fjild* 'field', *wjirm* 'worm', *doarp* [dwarp] 'village', *stoarm* [stwarm] 'storm', and *hjerst* 'autumn', as well as *skoalle* [skwalə] 'school', *sjippe* 'soap', *rjemme* 'cream', and *poarte* [pwatə] 'gate'.

A general limitation on breaking is that it never occurs before an immediately following *g* or *ch*. Words like *each* 'eye' will never be broken in the plural: *eagen*. Beyond this, the rule is very rare with stems ending in *f* or *v*. The only common examples are *leaver* 'rather' and *leafst* 'most of all', which in the synchronic language are not semantically a true comparative and superlative, and the diminutive form *briefke* [brjɪfkə] from *brief* 'letter'. The plural *brieven* is never broken.

Yet few other rules can be formulated. It is not accurate to say that certain stems always undergo breaking and others do not. For example, does the stem *ear* 'ear' undergo the process? Well, the plural is never broken, but as first member of a compound *ear* is subject to the alternation in *earizer* [jɛri:zər] 'woman's headdress' but not in *earbel* [ɪərbɛl] 'ear ring'. Similarly, *ien* 'one' is broken in *iennich* [jɪnəx] 'only' but not in *ienheid* [iənhit] 'unity'. Nonetheless, it is a general tendency for a particular stem to be broken in most cases or never.

It is further impossible to state that any particular suffix motivates breaking while others do not. Virtually any morphological suffix may be an environment for the process. Some stems will undergo breaking with a specific suffix while others will not. With *-lik*, for example, the rule applies to *ien* 'one' and *goed* 'good', producing *ienlik* [jɪ̃lək] 'single' and *guodlik* [gwodlək] 'goodly', but does not apply to *sierlik* 'decorative' and *leaflik* 'dear'.

One tendency which does hold, for the most part, is that if the plural of a noun is subject to breaking, the corresponding diminutive will be also. Thus, if we know that the plural of *hier* 'hair' is *hierren* [(h)jɪrən], we may assume that the

diminutive is [(h)jɪrkə]. Common examples of where this otherwise general tendency fails are *brief* 'letter' and *doaze* 'box', which are unbroken in the plurals *brieven* and *doazen*, but undergo the rule in the diminutives *briefke* [brjɪfkə] and *doaske* [dwaskə]. Likewise, the diminutive of the polysyllabic stem *keamer* 'room' is broken to [kjɛmərkə] in the diminutive, but remains unbroken in the plural *keamers.*

NOTE: Breaking is obviously a complex phenomenon which has essentially only been summarized in this discussion. More details on the historical development are available in Miedema (1958), Markey (1975), Van der Meer (1977, 1986), Booij (1989) and Visser (1990). The synchronic situation is described in Tiersma (1979, chapter 1) and Tiersma (1983), while phonetic details are to be found in De Graaf and Tiersma (1980).

The extent to which breaking is applied varies somewhat from dialect to dialect. In the Súdwesthoeke, breaking does not take place at all - where broken diphthongs occur in mainland dialects (and in Standard Frisian), these dialects tend to have shortened vowels instead. Even among the mainland dialects there are differences in how consistently breaking is applied, and often there is variation from speaker to speaker as well. Where one person may pronounce *koalen* 'coals' as [kwalən], another may say [koələn]. In general it is true that use of breaking is gradually receding throughout the language. Older grammars attest broken forms (like *deafet* [djɛfɛt] 'coffin') which strike one as antiquated or bizarre today, and older speakers use more breaking than does the younger generation. See in this regard Boelens (1980, 1987) and Boelens and Ytsma (1989).

An interesting correlation of breaking with dialects is that certain verbs have broken and unbroken forms, usually with the former being current in the southern part of the province and the latter in the north:

heare	[hɪərə - hjɛrə]	'hear'
spiele	[spiələ - spjɪlə]	'rinse'
fiele	[fiələ - fjɪlə]	'feel'
kieme	[kiəmə - kjɪmə]	'comb'
biene	[biənə - bjɪnə]	'scrub'

More exact details are available in Hof (1933).

While in some parts of the province extremely frequent function words exhibit the shortening of falling diphthongs (sec. 2.1.2.5), in other areas (especially in the north) the diphthongs in these words are broken when in conversational speech they receive very little stress; e.g. *miskien* [məskjɪn], *giet* [gjɪt], *stiet* [stjɪt], *woe* [vwo], *soe* [swo], *wie* [vjɪ], and a few others.

2.2. The consonants

The consonant inventory of Frisian is not as rich as the vowel system; what makes the consonants interesting is not as much their phonetic properties as the relatively complex combinations and phonological processes which can occur. The following is a chart of the consonants:

	labiodental	*bilabial*	*dental*	*velar*	*labiovelar*	*glottal*
voiceless stops		p	t	k		
voiced stops		b	d	g		
voiceless fricatives	f		s	x		
voiced fricatives	v		z	ɣ		
trill			r			
lateral			l			
glides				j	w	h
nasals		m	n	ŋ		

2.2.1. The consonant inventory

Sound	*Examples*	*Description*
[p]	piip	A voiceless bilabial stop, like the Eng. *p*, but with less aspiration.
[b]	beam, tobbe	A voiced bilabial stop, rare at the end of a word, and devoiced when it does occur (as in *kob* [kop] 'sea-gull').
[t]	tút, better	A voiceless dental stop, pronounced a bit further forward in the mouth than the English *t*. This applies to all the dental sounds. A devoiced *d*, usually at the end of a word, is phonetically identical to [t] (as in *goed*).
[d]	dea, widdo	A voiced dental stop. Intervocalic *d* often changes into *r* in Frisian, so that words like *stadich* 'slow', *wurdich* 'worth', *wurde* 'become', *siede* 'cook' and *hâlde* 'hold' are usually pronounced as [sta:rəx], [vørəx], [vørə], [siərə] and [hɔ:rə], respectively.

NOTE: This phenomenon, which is known as *d*-rhotacism, is discussed by Veenstra (1989, 1991).

[k]	koeke	A voiceless velar stop, essentially like English *k*, but usually not aspirated in Frisian.
[g]	gelyk, begjinne	A voiced velar stop, occurring only at the beginning of a word or as the first consonant of a stressed syllable word-internally (see sec. 2.2.2.10.)
[f]	fiif, snuffelje	A voiceless labiodental fricative. Does not occur intervocalically after a long vowel or diphthong.
[v]	wiet, suver, haw	A labiodental (sometimes bilabial) voiced fricative. It is extremely rare finally, occurring only in *haw*, where it is

		frequently devoiced to [haf]. In word-initial position it is a reflex of an original bilabial glide [w] and is sometimes still articulated somewhat as a glide.
[s]	seis, kessen	A voiceless dental fricative, usually pronounced like Eng. *s*. In final position after a long vowel or diphthong (where no contrast with [z] is possible) it may be partially voiced.
[z]	frieze	A voiced dental fricative which never occurs in initial or final position. With a few exceptions it is found only intervocalically following long vowels and falling diphthongs. Note the exceptions *hazze* 'rabbit', *lizze* 'lie', *dizze* 'this', and *sizze* 'say'. The last three are often pronounced with [e:] to avoid the combination of short vowel followed by voiced fricative.
[x]	each, kachel, barchje	A voiceless velar fricative, like the final consonant in Ger. *ach* or Scottish *loch*. It never is found at the beginning of a word.
[ɣ]	eagen, bargje	A voiced velar fricative found only word-internally in voiced environments (see sec. 2.2.2.10).
[m]	mem, eamelje	A bilabial nasal, like the Eng. *m*.
[n]	njoggen, sinne	A dental nasal, much like Eng. *n*. Cf. the rules of nasal assimilation in sec. 2.2.2.1. and nasalization in sec. 2.1.2.1.
[ŋ]	ring, sjonge	A velar nasal, as in Eng. *ng* in words such as *sing*. As in English, it cannot occur at the beginning of a word.
[l]	let, bolle	A dental lateral, pronounced a lot like Eng. *l*.
[r]	rier, beare	A dental trill, much like the trilled *r* in certain Dutch and German dialects. Between vowels it tends to be articulated as a flap.
[h]	hiel, hier	A glottal approximant like the *h* in English, found almost only at the beginning of words. In most dialects, the [h] is deleted before the glides [w] and [j], so that [hjɪrən] 'hairs' and [hwodən] 'hats' become [jɪrən] and [wodən], respectively.
[w]	dwaan, tuorren, doarren	A labiovelar glide (similar to English *w*), essentially the consonantal form of [u]. It is usually a true bilabial semivowel directly after consonants, as in *doarren* [dwarən], but may also be pronounced with some frication. This tendency to pronounce [w] with frication, to the extent that it sometimes becomes [v], is strongest following velar and dental consonants. See also Fokkema (1966) and Tiersma (1975). After bilabials (*moanne* [mwanə] 'moon' and *boarst* [bwast] 'breast', for example) it is *always* a glide. It is interesting that in the southeast of the province, [w] is sometimes replaced by [j] when it is directly preceded by a consonant in the same syllable: *fuotten* 'feet' → [fjotən]; *boarst* → [bjast]; *moanne* → [mjanə]. This might be related to a large influx of peat diggers to this area from Drente, who had to learn Frisian and could not easily pronounce [w] in this position. It is noteworthy that [j] for [w] is most common following labial consonants, where the pronunciation as a glide is required (and [v] cannot therefore be substituted).
[j]	jaan, moaier	A palatal glide or semivowel, essentially like the Eng. *y* in *year*. The [j] drops before [i] in many dialects, so that *jier* 'year' is pronounced [iər], homophonous with *ier* 'vein'.

NOTE: For a list of consonant clusters which are permissible in Frisian, see Cohen *et al.* (1972).

2.2.2. *Rules governing the consonants*

2.2.2.1. *Assimilation*

Assimilation is the name given to the process whereby two segments, usually adjacent, become more similar to one another. Two of the most frequently found types of assimilation are that of *place* and that of *manner*. With assimilation of place, two adjoining consonants which differ in the place of the mouth where they are articulated will come both to be pronounced in the same place. The *n* of a word like Eng. *input*, for example, is usually pronounced as *m* before *b* and *p*. In other words, the alveolar segment *n* (articulated with the tongue against the alveolar ridge) becomes bilabial *m* under the influence of a following bilabial *p* or *b* (pronounced by bringing the lips together.) Assimilation of manner involves two sounds becoming more similar in terms of manner of articulation, which often refers to voicing. The only difference between *p* and *b* in English is that the former is voiceless and the latter voiced. This distinction is lost when the *p* of *cupboard* assimilates to the voicing of the following *b*, producing [kʌbərd].

Like most languages, Frisian has a large number of assimilation processes, some of which are reflected in the spelling and others of which are not. One of the most common of these is nasal assimilation, by which *n* assimilates to the place of

articulation of the directly following consonant:

yn + *bine*	'bind into'	→	[imbinə]
stien + *par*	'stone pear'	→	[stjɪmpar]
ûn + *bedoarn*	'unspoiled'	→	[umbədoən]
yn + *komme*	'come in'	→	[iŋkomə]
ûn + *gewoan*	'unusual'	→	[uŋgəvoən]
pan + *koek*	'pancake'	→	[paŋkuk]

In addition, syllabified nasals will assimilate to the preceding consonant, as discussed in sec. 2.2.2.2.

The situation with voicing assimilation, which is quite a bit more complicated, will be represented here by only a few examples. When a voiceless stop *(p,t,k)* is followed by a word which begins with a voiced stop (*b,d,g*), the stops are both voiced:

op + *dwaan*	'put on'	→	[obdwa:n]
net dwaan	'don't do'	→	[nɛd dwa:n]
ik bin	'I am'	→	[ɪg bɪn]
ik gean	'I go'	→	[ɪg gɪən]
bakt bôle	'bakes bread'	→	[bagd bɔ:lə]

Obviously, assimilation will not occur if there is a pause separating the two words.

A relatively systematic exception to the above generalization is found when the second element (the voiced consonant) is a *d* in various pronouns or function words, including *dit*, *dat*, *dizze*, *dy*, *do*, *dyn*, *dij*, *doe*, *dan*, *dêre*, *der*, and *dus*. When one of these follows a word terminating in a voiceless stop, both often become voiceless:

op dy	'on that'	→	[op ti]
net dat	'not that'	→	[nɛt tɔt]
út dit	'out of the'	→	[yt tɪt]
wolst do	'do you want'	→	[vost to:]

A voiceless fricative (*s*, *f*, *ch*) at the end of a word becomes voiced when followed by a word which begins with any voiced consonant or vowel:

baas die	'boss did'	→	[ba:z diə]
of bûter	'or butter'	→	[ɔv butər]
thús wêze	'be home'	→	[tyz vɛ:zə]
misdied	'misdeed'	→	[mɪzdiət]
is yn	'is in'	→	[ɪz in]
of út	'or out of'	→	[ɔv yt]
sjoch ien	'see one'	→	[sjoɣ iən]

Another exception to voicing assimilation is that the *s* of *se*, a reduced form of 'she', which as a voiceless fricative should not be subject to assimilation initially, may be voiced to [z] when preceded by a voiced consonant or a vowel:

wie se	'was she'	→	[viə zə]
foel se	'fell she'	→	[fuəl zə]
mei se	'may she'	→	[mai zə]

A voiced fricative [v z ɣ] which is adjacent to a voiceless stop will become voiceless. Note that in final position all fricatives are already voiceless because of devoicing (sec. 2.2.2.3). This type of assimilation is usually associated with the suffixation of a *t* or *st* to a verb stem. The stem *lêz-* 'read' plus the 3sg. suffix *t* becomes *lêst*, just as *hoeg-* 'have to' becomes *hoecht*. Observe that this change is reflected in the spelling. What may also be considered a kind of voicing assimilation, once again associated with verbs, is that the past tense marker of class I weak verbs is either *de* or *te*, depending on the voicing of the underlying final consonant of the stem (sec. 4.2.1). A verb with a final voiced consonant takes *de*, while one ending in a voiceless consonant takes *te*. Thus *bakke* 'bake' becomes pret. *bakte* 'baked' and *miene* 'think' becomes *miende* 'thought'.

NOTE: See further Riemersma (1979), Van der Meer (1979), Van der Meer and De Graaf (1983), and Visser (1988a, 1988b).

2.2.2.2. Syllabification

As a rule, a vowel is a necessary element in any syllable. It is possible, however, for certain consonants to carry a syllable when the vowel is deleted. This occurs in most dialects of English, as in words like *button* [bʌtn̩], *bottle* [bɔtl̩], and *center* [sɛntr̩], where the vowel of the last syllable has been deleted and its function of carrying the syllable transferred to the final liquid or nasal. This final liquid or nasal has come to be syllabic, as indicated in the phonetic transcription by the mark under the letter.

In an analogous manner, when a schwa in Frisian is followed in the same syllable by an *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, or *ng*, the schwa is deleted and the consonant is syllabified:

better	'better'	→	[bɛtr̩]
biezem	'broom'	→	[biəzm̩]
fuotten	'feet'	→	[fwotn̩]
hannelen	'handled (pl.)'	→	[hɔnl̩n̩]
mieningen	'opinions'	→	[miənŋn̩] or [miənŋŋ̍]
hammeren	'hammered (pl.)'	→	[hamr̩n̩]

Only unstressed syllables are subject to syllabification. Syllabification and assimilation are less common after stems ending in [ɣ], however: *eagen* 'eyes' [ɪəɣən].

The *en* suffix used to mark the plural and sometimes the past participle is also syllabified in all but the most formal speech. This syllabic *n*, which hence often comes to stand directly after another consonant, will normally assimilate to the place of articulation of that consonant (cf. sec. 2.2.2.1):

happen	'bites'	→	[hapn̩]	→	[hapm̩]
beammen	'trees'	→	[bjɛmn̩]	→	[bjɛmm̩]
stikken	'broken'	→	[stɪkn̩]	→	[stɪkŋ̍]
ringen	'rings'	→	[rɪŋn̩]	→	[rɪŋŋ̍]

NOTE: Nasalization, syllabification, and assimilation can interact in rather complex ways. For instance, *tekenst* '(you) draw' can either undergo nasalization to [te:kə̃st], or the *n* can be syllabified and assimilate to the preceding consonant, producing [te:kŋ̍ st], either one of which is acceptable Frisian. Or look at the suffix *-ens*, which normally is nasalized, as in *smoargens* [smwarɣə̃s] 'dirt'. But following a dental consonant, the *en* may be syllabified rather than nasalized, as we see in *wissens* [vɪsn̩s] 'certainty', alongside [vɪsə̃s]. The nature of the consonant directly following is also of some importance. The complicated interplay of these processes is the topic of Riemersma (1979). Syllabification is further discussed in Dyk (1987) and Visser (1997, Ch. 6). On the historical development of this phenomenon in Frisian, see Van der Kuip (1987).

2.2.2.3. *Final devoicing*

The voiced obstruents [b d ɣ v z] cannot occur at the end of a word in Frisian. When these voiced segments do come to stand in final position, they are subject to a rule of final devoicing. This process, which is relatively new to the language, converts [b d ɣ v z] into [p t x f s], respectively:

kâld	'cold'	→	[kɔ:t]
slaab	'bib'	→	[sla:p]
rêch	'back' (pl. *rêgen*)	→	[rɛ:x]
brief	'letter' (pl. *brieven*)	→	[briəf]
glês	'glass' (pl. *glêzen*)	→	[glɛ:s]

The underlying voiced consonant remains in the inflected forms, as can be seen above. Notice that while the underlying voiced stops *b* and *d* are written at the end of words like *slaab* and *kâld*, the underlying voiced fricatives are spelled as *f*, *s*, and *ch* in final position. In other words, the spelling reflects final devoicing in fricatives but not in stops.

Final devoicing may further take place when a stem enters into a compound or is part of a derived word: *sydleane* [sitlɪənə] 'side lane'. All diminutives are subject to devoicing before the diminutive suffix:

slabke	'small bib'	→	[slapkə]
bedsje	'small bed'	→	[bɛtsjə]

This situation is complicated by its interaction with assimilation, however. The compound *syddoar* 'side door' should undergo devoicing to *[sitdoər], but by voicing assimilation (sec. 2.2.2.1) the [t] reverts to [d] to produce [siddoər].

Beyond this, while all stems are devoiced before the diminutive ending, only certain ones are devoiced preceding the suffix *-lik*: *soarchlik* 'sorrowful' and *beweechlik* 'mobile' are devoiced, whereas *deeglik* 'suitable' and *mooglik* 'possible' retain the underlying voiced fricative. This may be related to the fact

that the stem is readily apparent for the former two words, while it is synchronically quite obscure with the latter two, hence they are less felt to be complex words with an internal word boundary.

NOTE: Though it is a very old process in Dutch and German, records indicate that final devoicing in Frisian is a phenomenon of recent origin. In the phonetic study of the language of Grou by Eijkman (1907:19), *b* and *d* are said to be largely voiced at the end of a word. But in Sipma's grammar (1913), there are signs that devoicing has started to set in. His transciptions, although not entirely consistent, suggest that devoicing had taken place following long vowels, falling diphthongs, and liquids, but not after short vowels or rising diphthongs.

2.2.2.4. *Degemination*

Geminates are double consonants, and thus *degemination* describes the process by which geminate consonants become single. Important in this regard is to remember that orthographic double consonants like those in *katten* or *sitte* are not geminates in synchronic Frisian, but are pronounced with phonetically single consonants. In fact, within a word there can be no geminate obstruents. The rule against geminates means that any time a cluster of identical consonants is created, one of them must be deleted:

rêst	+	*t*	'(he) rests'	→	[rɛ:st]
sit	+	*t*	'(he) sits'	→	[sɪt]
griis	+	*st*	'grayest'	→	[gri:st]

When a stem ending in *s* plus consonant in a single syllable (often *st*) has appended to it an identical combination, degemination also occurs, producing a single cluster:

rêst	+	*st*	'(you) rest'	→	[rɛ:st]
fêst	+	*st*	'most secure'	→	[fɛ:st]
rêst	+	*stee*	'rest place'	→	[rɛ:ste:]

2.2.2.5. *Consonant cluster simplification*

Consonant clusters of other types may also be subject to simplification; most common is for *t* to drop from certain combinations of consonants. A stem which ends in an *st* will delete the *t* before the diminutive suffix *-sje* or the verb suffix *-je* or *-kje*:

kastje	'small closet' (from *kast*)	→	[kɔsjə]
kistje	'small chest' (from *kiste*)	→	[kɪsjə]
fûstkje	'shake hands' (from *fûst*)	→	[fuskjə]
roastkje	'to rust' (from *roast*)	→	[rwaskjə]
kostje	'cost' (from *kost*)	→	[kɔsjə]

Of course, the *t* remains under other circumstances, as may be seen in forms like *kast* 'closet' and *kisten* 'chests'.

Other cases of simplification include *achtst* [akst] ‘eighth’ and *nachts* [naks] ‘at night’, where [x] becomes [k] by regular rule (see sec. 2.2.2.10).

A stem ending in *t*, followed by a suffix beginning with *st*, results in the deletion of stem-final *t*:

sit	+	*st*	‘(you) sit’	→	[sɩst]
wit	+	*st*	‘(you) know’	→	[vɩst]
hyt	+	*st*	‘hottest’	→	[hist]
grut	+	*st*	‘largest’	→	[grøst]

It is imperative that the *t* terminate the stem. Thus, with a stem ending in *ts*, where the morpheme boundary follows the *s*, the criteria for deletion are not met, and the *t* and *s* both remain, as in *fytst* ‘(she) cycles’ (*fyts* + *t*), which is pronounced [fitst]. Strangely enough, the deletion of *t* always occurs with verbs, while in superlatives it is normal with some (*hytst* ‘hottest’, *grutst* ‘largest’, *koartst* ‘shortest’) and less so with others (*readst* ‘reddest’, *wietst* ‘wettest’).

NOTE: More on the deletion of *t* in certain consonant clusters can be found in Hoekstra (1985) and Visser (1993b). Other types of consonant cluster simplification are more sporadic. The words *doch* ‘do’, *sjoch* ‘see’, *is* ‘is’, *wol* ‘want’, *sil* ‘shall’, *hoech* ‘must’, *troch* ‘through’, *noch* ‘still’, *graach* ‘gladly’ and *genôch* ‘enough’ often drop the final consonant before a consonant-initial suffix or before another word beginning with a consonant:

wolst	‘(you) want’	→	[vost]
silst	‘(you) will’	→	[sɩst]
is der	‘is there’	→	[ɩ dər]
genôch tiid	‘enough time’	→	[gənɔ: ti:t]
sjoch net	‘don’t see’	→	[sjo nɛt]
noch wol	‘still’	→	[nɔ vol]
dochst	‘(you) do’	→	[dost]

While the above are quite accepted in conversational Frisian (in fact, simplification is required with *wolst* and *silst*), the deletion of the consonant is much less permissible before *h* or vowels. See further Van der Meer and De Graaf (1983).

2.2.2.6. R-*deletion*

Any *r* which occurs in front of one of the dental consonants [t d n l s z] is not pronounced in Frisian, resulting in some *r*’s which are present in the spelling system but which are *never* pronounced:

bern	‘child’	→	[bɛ:n]
burd	‘beard’	→	[bøt]
swart	‘black’	→	[swat]
gers	‘grass’	→	[gɛ:s]
fearn	‘sailed’	→	[fɩən]

A few exceptions to this are recent borrowings from Dutch, where the *r* is sometimes pronounced, as in *sport* or *modern*.

This rule leads to alternation in the paradigms of a number of words, as in the conjugation of *hearre* ‘hear’:

inf./pl.	*hearre*	[jɛrə]
1sg.	*hear*	[jɛr]
2sg.	*hearst*	[jɛst]
3sg.	*heart*	[jɛt]
pret.	*hearde*	[jɛdə]
p.p.	*heard*	[jɛt]

Elsewhere the *r* is also deleted. The superlative of *djoer* ‘expensive’ is *djoerst* [djuəst], and derived words like *earlik* ‘honest’ and *learsum* ‘educational’ may be pronounced [ɩələk] and [lɩəsəm]. When the *r* is syllabified, however, as in words like *spikert* ‘(he) nails’, it is not deleted: [spikr̩t]. But if no syllabification takes place, which is also possible, this verb is pronounced [spikət].

Within complex words the rule of *r*-deletion is more general. Recall that word-internally and before inflectional affixes, *r* is dropped only before dental consonants. But in derived words and compounds it is usually deleted before any consonant besides *h*. I will refer to this as *expanded r-deletion*. The prefixes and particles *fer*, *oer*, *foar*, *oar*, and *wer* are subject to expanded r-deletion when they occur before a stem beginning in a consonant other than *h*:

ferbiede	‘forbid’	→	[fəbiədə]
ferpeste	‘spoil’	→	[fəpɛstə]
oerdrage	‘transmit’	→	[uədra:ɣə]
werkomme	‘come again’	→	[vɛkomə]
foargean	‘precede’	→	[fwagɩən]
ferjeie	‘chase away’	→	[fəjaiə]
ferwachtsje	‘expect’	→	[fəvaxtsjə]

In true compounds expanded r-deletion also occurs, but while it is obligatory with the above prefixes, it is optional with compounds. Thus *hierkaam* ‘hair comb’ and *hierspjelde* ‘hair pin’ can be pronounced either with or without the *r*.

NOTE: In colloquial speech the *r* of the common words *mar* ‘but’, *dêr* ‘there’, *wer* ‘again’, *wêr* ‘where’, *allegear* ‘all’, *hjir* ‘here’, and *foar* ‘for’ typically undergoes expanded *r*-deletion when no pause intervenes:

mar dat	‘but that’	→	[ma dɔt]
wer werom	‘back again’	→	[vɛ vərom]
allegear thús	‘all home’	→	[ɔləgjɛ tys]
dêr net	‘not there’	→	[dɛ nɛt]
foar de wyn	‘with the wind’	→	[fwa də vin]
hjir komme	‘here come’	→	[jɩ komə]

This type of *r*-deletion is quite similar to the consonant cluster simplification which occurs in conversational speech discussed in the note to sec. 2.2.2.5. On the question of *r*-deletion in general see Boelens (1952, 1953), Hoekema (1954), and Tiersma (1979).

2.2.2.7. *Affrication*

When a *t* or *d* comes to stand in front of a *j*, the combinations *tj* and *dj* usually become affricated to *tsj* and *dzj*. This is most evident in the paradigms of class II weak verbs (sec. 4.2.2). Compare *harkje* 'listen', which does not undergo the process, to *skodzje* 'shake', which does:

inf.	*harkje*	*skodzje*	(skod	+	je)
1sg.	*harkje*	*skodzje*	(skod	+	je)
2sg.	*harkest*	*skoddest*	(skod	+	est)
3sg.	*harket*	*skoddet*	(skod	+	et)
pl.	*harkje*	*skodzje*	(skod	+	je)

Whenever the suffix *-je* follows a *t* or *d*, affrication applies. (The double *d* in some forms is orthographic only.) In the language today, as a rule, affrication applies only to the suffix *-je*. Words with *dj* like *djoer* 'expensive' and *djip* 'deep' do not become **dzjoer* or **dzjip*. Furthermore, combinations of *tj* and *dj* which originate in the breaking of a following diphthong are unaffected by the process: *teannen* [tjɛnən] 'toes' never becomes *[tsjɛnən].

2.2.2.8. *Final* d-*deletion*

Under certain conditions a *d* in word-final position may be deleted, in Standard Frisian affecting exclusively the words *sie* 'seed', *trie* 'wire', *rie* 'council', *die* 'deed', *dea* 'dead', *read* 'red', and sometimes *goed* 'good'. Notice that all of these words contain a falling diphthong. The *d* which originally stood at the end of these words remains in inflected forms:

sie	→	*siedden*	(pl.)
rie	→	*rieden*	(pl.)
die	→	*dieden*	(pl.)
trie	→	*triedden*	(pl.)
dea	→	*deade*	(inflected)

Derived words based on the above usually contain the *d*, as in *siedzje* [sjɪdzjə] 'sow' and *riede* 'advise'. Some speakers, it should be noted, have the singulars *sied*, *ried*, *died*, and *tried*.

The situation with the adjectives *dea*, *read*, and *goed* is a bit more complex. When uninflected or as a predicate adjective, the form *dea* appears, as in *in dea fiskje* 'a dead fish' or *hy is dea* 'he is dead'. When an inflectional schwa is added, the *d* appears, as in *de deade ko* 'the dead cow'. In complex words, either *dea* may be used (*deagraver* 'gravedigger') or *dead* (*deadlik* 'deadly').

Goed, unlike *dea*, does not drop the *d* in isolation: *sy is goed* 'she is good'. The *d* often remains in complex words like *guodlik* 'goodly', where breaking has occurred. Yet deletion may apply in several other expressions with *goed*, like the

somewhat poetic *goefroen* 'good friend', *goemoarn* 'good morning', or *goejûn* 'good evening'.

NOTE: The inflected form *goede* is often pronounced [gujə], although [guədə] is preferred. The former may be attributed to the influence of Dutch, where the word is [xujə]

Read, like *goed*, retains the *d* in isolation: *in read hûs* 'a red house' or *it hûs is read* 'the house is red'. Complex words again show fluctuation between formations with and without *d*: the geographical name *Reaklif* shows the effects of deletion, as does the adjective *reafallich* 'ruddy', whereas *d* is maintained in words like *readich* 'reddish'.

NOTE: In some dialects, like that of Hylpen, final d-deletion is considerably more widespread than it is in the standard language. Common in Hylpen are *floo* 'flood', *bree* 'broad', *joo* 'today', *bloo* 'blood', etc.

A related variety of final *d*-deletion is found in the verb forms *hie* 'had', *die* 'did', *soe* 'should', and *woe* 'would', all of which historically ended in *d* (compare the English cognates). When the clitic *er* 'he' (sec. 4.1.4.1) comes to stand directly behind one of these verbs, the *d* reappears:

hie	+	*er*	→	*hied er*
soe	+	*er*	→	*soed er*
woe	+	*er*	→	*woed er*
die	+	*er*	→	*died er*

Historically speaking, of course, the *d* has been deleted in all environments *except* the above. Yet in synchronic terms, it probably makes more sense to consider the *d* to be inserted under these very restricted circumstances rather than regarding it as part of the stem. Other verbs with which this normally occurs are *stie* 'stood', *lei* 'laid', *sei* 'said', *koe* 'could', and *wie* 'was'.

NOTE: Many speakers appear to have reanalyzed the enclitic *er* to have a variant *der* which occurs after a verb which ends in a vowel, doubtless based on misanalysis of forms like *soed er* as *soe der*. This leads to common pronunciations of phrases like *fûn er* 'found he' as [fun dr̩] or *foel er* 'fell he' as [fuəl dr̩]. The phenomenon is not unlike spread of epenthetic *r* in some English dialects in phrases like *America-r-is*, and is a typical case of rule inversion.

2.2.2.9. D-*insertion*

When a stem ends in an *r*, there must be a *d* inserted before the suffix *-er*. With stems terminating in *n* or *l*, the *d* may be inserted but is not required:

Obligatory:

djoer	'expensive'	*djoerder*	'more expensive'
fier	'far'	*fierder*	'farther'
nuver	'strange'	*nuverder*	'stranger'
farre	'sail'	*farder*	'sailor'

hiere	'rent'	*hierder*	'renter'
Optional:			
rinne	'walk'	*rinder* or *rinner*	'walker'
sile	'sail'	*sylder* or *siler*	'sailor'
giel	'yellow'	*gielder* or *gieler*	'yellower'
brún	'brown'	*brúnder* or *bruner*	'browner'

Within words this process also took place and generated forms like *kelder* 'cellar' and *daalder* 'one and one – half guilders' from original **keller* and **daler*. Here the *d* is now simply part of the word, rather than being inserted by rule.

Rather more subtle are cases of a stem plus suffix which, often due to irregularities in meaning, are no longer generated from the base form by rule. Thus even though they can be analyzed into separate morphemes, they act as words and the *d* is therefore part of that lexical item, rather than being viewed as inserted. An example of this is *minder* 'worse, fewer', which is strictly speaking the comparative of *min* 'bad' but deviates from it semantically. Similar is the word *bjinder* 'brush', which is technically an agentive of *bjinne* 'scrub', but is no longer a true agentive in meaning. It is therefore a word unto itself, and the *d* is part of that word. *Bjinner* is the real agentive of *bjinne* in the meaning of 'a person who scrubs'.

With other stems ending in *n* or *l* the insertion of *d* is essentially optional, although some comparatives and agentives are preferred with it (*postrinder* 'postman') and others without. For the most part, older and more conservative speakers tend to insert *d* frequently in this environment, while younger people do so seldom or never.

NOTE: See Tiersma (1980), chapter 2, for further information on *d*-insertion.

2.2.2.10. The nature of /g/

What is written *g* in Frisian may have several different phonetic manifestations. At the beginning of a word it is universally the voiced velar stop [g], as in *gean* 'go' or *gjin* 'none'. This also holds when a prefix is attached to the stem, as in *begjinne* 'begin' and *meigean* 'go along'. In addition, when *g* occurs word-internally with stress on the immediately following syllable, it is also articulated as a stop: *au'gustus* 'August' or *ba'gaazje* 'baggage'.

In other positions *g* is always a fricative, however, whose basic form I will assume to be the voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. This is found, for example, in *bargje* 'spill' and *meager* 'thin', and it must be kept distinct from the [x] in words like *kachel* 'stove'. The [ɣ] becomes voiceless at times by final devoicing and assimilation: compare *baarch* [ba:rx] 'pig' with the plural *bargen* [barɣən], as well as *heech* [he:x] 'high' and *heechst* [he:xst] 'highest' with *heger* [he:ɣər] 'higher'. Recall also that devoicing takes place before the diminutive suffix, as in *barchje* [barxjə] 'small pig', which contrasts with *bargje* [barɣjə] 'spill, act like a pig', the latter without devoicing.

One final observation is that when any [x] stands before an *s*, it may, with some personal and dialectal variation, undergo dissimilation to [k]:

liichst	'(you) lie'	→	[li(:)kst]
heechst	'highest'	→	[he:kst]
nachts	'at night'	→	[naks]
achtst	'eighth'	→	[akst]

In the last two examples, the *t* must be deleted by consonant cluster simplification before dissimilation can occur.

NOTE: Loanwords (often originally Greek) which begin with [x] in Dutch are nativized to [g] in Frisian, as in *gloar* [gloər] 'chlorine' and *gemysk* [ge:misk] 'chemical'. Some dialects allow [g] intervocalically, as in [da:gən] 'days' (*dagen*) for the more common [da:ɣən].

2.3. Stress

Word stress in Frisian is phonetically much like that in English, with stress being related to an increase in pitch and amplitude. In other words, a stressed syllable is louder than an unstressed one, and is furthermore spoken on a slightly higher pitch. Stress is indicated here by a single quotation mark ['] before the stressed syllable.

In native (or nearly native) words of more than one syllable, the stress is generally on the first vowel:

'boarger 'bûzehappert 'mantel 'suster

Non-native words, especially those of French origin, are stressed on the final syllable:

pa'pier lo'kaal ka'do kabi'net ka'jút fat'soen stu'dint

When the last syllable is inherently unstressable, that is, a schwa or syllabic consonant, the stress in words of French origin is penultimate:

ga'raazje mi'rakel miri'ade

Compounds (words made up of two or more independent lexical items) often have main stress on the first element, especially when the first is a noun:

'gasthûs 'bûsdoek 'figebeam 'heitelân 'manlju 'molkkarre 'finsterbank

When the first element is an adjective, the stress is on the stem of the second element:

wiid'weidich âlder'wetsk wankel'moedich swak'sinnich barm'hertich
jong'faam reade'koal jonge'man

Normally, when an adjective and a noun come together, each is stressed equally: *'jonge 'man*. In contrast, the stress of *jonge'man* indicates that it must be considered a compound, rather than simply an adjective and noun.

There is a further set of compounds in which the first part is a noun, but which, unlike compounds like *'gasthûs*, have stress on the second element. The explanation may lie in part in the fact that often the first element, though a noun, somehow modifies the second. Whatever the reason, these compounds are stressed as though the first element were an adjective:

boere'feint *bûthús'doar* *âldjiers'jûn* *skoarstien'mantel*

Certain compound geographical names and compounds relating to time also have a tendency to receive stress on the second element:

see'dyk *Prinse'tún* *juster'jûn* *moarn'ier* *Mûn'ein* *Offen'wier*

Suffixes can have varying effects on stress. Indigenous ones like *-lik*, *-ich*, *-achtich*, *-ens*, *-dom*, *-heid*, *-skip*, *-ster* and others, as well as all inflectional suffixes, do not carry primary stress:

'guodlik *'boadskip* *'skriuwster* *'doarke* *'doarren*
'grienachtich *'smoargens* *'frijdom* *'wierheid* *'hillich*

The affixes *-inne* and *-es*, both signifying female agents, take primary stress, as do suffixes of French origin and *-erij*:

freon'dinne *boer'inne* *prin'ses* *demon'straasje* *demon'strearje*
sli'taazje *buorke'rij* *bakke'rij*

The state of affairs with prefixes is more intricate. First of all, there are prefixes which are never stressed, like *be-*, *ge-*, *ûnt-*, *fer-*, and *te-*:

te'gearre *be'dekke* *be'gjinne* *fer'heegje* *ge'woan* *ge'rûs*
te'minsten *ûnt'hâlde*

Other prefixes, mainly *oar-* and *ant-*, always receive primary stress:

'oardiel *'antwurd* *'antlit* *'oarkonde*

Beyond these general guidelines the syntactic category of a word is of great importance. With words containing prefixes which are not inherently stressed or unstressed, it is usually true that nouns will be accented on the prefix itself, while adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions will receive stress on the stem:

Nouns: *'oandacht* *'bystân* *by'ienkomste* *'omtinken* *'foarpoat* *'ûndergong* *'ûnnocht* *'misdie* *'tagong* *'yngong*

Adjectives: *ûn'mooglik* *fol'slein* *fol'woeksen* *ta'gonklik*

Adverbs/prepositions: *by'lâns* *foar'op* *foar'by* *fan'sels* *fan'nacht* *om'heech* *oer'ein* *fan'wegen*

Related to the above is the alternation present in certain noun-adjective pairs:

'ienfâld	→	*ien'fâldich*
'tagong	→	*ta'gonklik*
'earmoed	→	*ear'moedich*
'freonskip	→	*freon'skiplik*

A class of adverbs which goes counter to those above is those formed with *inoar* or *elkoar*, which are roughly synonymous:

'meiinoar *'ynelkoar* *'útelkoar* *'trochinoar* *'trochelkoar*

Stress in verbs, like that of many Germanic languages, is often dependent upon whether the prefix of the verb is separable or not. Separable prefixes are those, like the *foar* in *'foargean* 'to go ahead', which can stand alone, as in *wy geane foar* 'we go ahead'. These are always accented on the prefix. The inseparable prefixes are never stressed, on the other hand, except obviously when they are prefixes which are inherently stressed. Note the stress differences in the following sets of verbs:

Separable: *'bystean* *'delsette* *'foljitte* *'oanhelje* *'oersmite* *'omkeare* *'opfrette* *'foargean* *'ûndergean* *'tawinskje*

Inseparable: *fol'dwaan* *oer'winne* *ûnder'fine* *foar'sizze*

The inherently unstressed prefixes *be-*, *ge-*, *fer-*, *te-*, and *ûnt-* might simply be viewed as inseparable prefixes, which accounts for why they are never accented. But notice that the opposite is not true - the inherently stressed syllables *ant-* and *oar-* are never separable, and hence their inherent stressability cannot be related to separability.

Non-primary stresses have been largely ignored in this discussion, not because they do not exist, but rather because their presence is largely predictable given the primary stress. As is true also in English, the basic rhythm of Frisian is an alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. Thus the general tendency is for the syllables directly adjacent to the one with main stress to be unaccented, and the ones adjacent to that to have secondary or tertiary stress:

bûthúsdóár *fínsterbànk* *bûzehàppert* *lèdekánt* *wiidwéídich*

In each of the above words the basic stressed-unstressed rhythm is maintained as the syllables directly adjoining the main stress are unaccented and those that are two syllables away receive secondary stress.

3 SPELLING

The Frisian spelling system utilizes most of the letters of the Roman alphabet, with the exception of *x* and *q*. These latter letters are found on occasion in names or obviously foreign words, however.

The Frisian orthography is in many senses based as much on tradition as it is on phonetic principles. Even though the spelling was modernized in 1945 and again in 1980, the orthography remains inconsistent in a number of points, the most important of which, and the most frustrating for foreigners attempting to study Frisian, is that it is often impossible to extrapolate from the spelling of a word like *beamke* 'small tree' whether the diphthong is broken or not.

3.1. Letters representing the Frisian vowels

The chart below lists the letters and combination of letters presently used for vowels in Frisian, along with a few which have been abolished with the spelling reforms but which may be encountered in literary works from before that time. The letters are followed by a description of their phonetic values and some examples. For the difference between orthographic open and closed syllables, refer to sec. 3.3.

Letter	*Description*
a	Usually represents long [a:] in open syllables, as in *twa* and *lake*; short [a] in closed syllables, as in *hap*. May also be short in final position (*sa*). Before the dentals *t, d, s, n, l* it represents [ɔ], as in *kat* or *man*. Short [a] is exceptionally pronounced before a dental in the word *bad*, however, and regularly when there is a silent *r* before the dental (*swart*) or when the [a] is the product of breaking or shortening (*woartel* [watəl] or *hastich* [hastəx] from *haast*).
â	Represents [ɔ:] in all cases - *âld, bân*
aa	Invariably represents [a:]. Formerly often written *ae*. Used only in closed syllables - *baan, skaad*.
aai	Stands for [a:i], as in *aai* or *skaai*. Formerly spelled *aei*. See further sec. 2.1.2.3.
(ae)	See *aa*.
(aei)	See *aai*.
ai	Represents [ai], as in *maits*.
au	Stands for the sound [au], as in *gau*. Phonetically this sound is usually [ɔu] rather than a pure [au].
(aw)	A former combination which represented [ɔ] in *sawntich* and *sawntjin* and [ɔ:] in *sawn* and *hawn*. These words are now spelled *santich, hân*, etc.

e	Pronounced [e:] in open syllables (*wegen*) and [ɛ] in closed syllables (*pet*). When unstressed, it represents [ə]. Occasionally it stands for [ɛ:], as in *bern* and *ferzen*.
(é)	Previously used in word-final position for *ee*, q.v.
ê	Stands for the [ɛ:] in *fêst* or *bêd*.
ea	Usually represents the falling diphthong [ɪə], as in *beam*; or otherwise [jɛ], as in *beammen* or *beamke*.
eau	The sound [øə] in past participles like *dreaun* or *skreaun*; [jo:] in words like *leauwe* and preterites like *skreau* 'wrote'.
ee	Represents [e:] in closed syllables, such as in *reed*, and in word-final position, as in *see* (formerly spelled *sé*).
ei	Stands for [ai] (in the Walden [ɛi]), as in *dei, wei* or *kleie*; sometimes pronounced [a:i] (see sec. 2.1.2.3). In *dei*, when part of a compound, it is [di], as in *Moandei* or *jierdei*.
eo	The diphthong [øə] found in *freon* or *gleon*.
eu	Usually represents [ø:] (*sneu, bleu*), except that before *r* it is [øə], as in *kleur*.
i	In closed syllables this is virtually always [ɪ], as in *sitte*. The exceptions are the unstressed function words *it* and *in* and the suffix *-ich*, which are pronounced with [ə]. In open syllables, the *i* stands variously for [i] (as in *side*) and [i:] (as in *lige*).
ie	Represents the falling (unbroken) diphthong [iə] (*stien, tientsje*) or the rising (broken) diphthong [jɪ] of *stiennen* and *stientsje*.
ieu	This is always the diphthong [iu], found in *ieu*.
ii	Invariably represents [i:] in closed syllables (*iis, wiid*).
ij	Always [ɛi] in words like *snije* and *wije*.
iuw	Pronounced either [ju:] or [jo:] in words like *bliuwe* and *skriuwe*.
o	This letter represents [o:] in open syllables (*doge, stoke*). In closed syllables it can be either [o] (*sok* 'such', *hok* 'what kind', *holle* 'head') or [ɔ] (*sok* 'sock', *hok* 'shed', *kop* 'head').
ô	Usually stands for [ɔ:], as in *rôt* and *bôle*. The word *ôf* may be pronounced [ɔu] or [ɔ:].
oa	[oə] in many words like *boat* and *oar*; broken to [wa] in many others, like *boartsje, skoalle*, and *foarke*. In *moatte* and *moandei* it is pronounced [a], which is lengthened to nasalized [ã:] in *woansdei*.
oai	This is normally [oəi], as in *moai*, but can be broken to [wai] in forms like *moaier* or to [wa:i] in, for example, *boaiem*.
oe	Usually stands for [uə] (*foet*), but may also represent [u], especially before *k, ch*, and *g* (*hoeke, droech*). In some instances it is [u:], as in *skoech*, or *doek* in conservative dialects.
oei	Represents [ui] in words like *bloeie*.
oo	Always pronounced [o:], as in *hoopje*.
ou	In *frou* and *bouwe* it is pronounced [ɔu], and in *froulju* it is [ɔ:] or [ɔ]. Formerly represented [o:] at the end of a word (*kou* 'cow', now *ko*) and [u] before *n* (*houn* 'dog', now *hûn*).
(ow)	Used in the former spelling for [u] in *jown* 'given' (now *jûn*).

u In open syllables can be [y] (*huzen*) or [y:] (*druven*). Stands for [ø] in closed syllables, as in *put*. In unaccented syllables it is normally [ə], as in the second syllables in *hânsum* or the placename *Boazum*.

ú This letter may represent either [y] or [y:], and is used only in closed syllables. It stands for the former in *thús* and *út*, and for the latter in *drúf* and *túch*.

û May be the short vowel [u] in *bûten* or *ûnder*, or the long vowel [u:] in *hûs* or *lûd*. It was previously used for [uə] before *r*, as in *ûre*, which is now spelled *oere*.

uo This concatenation of letters always represents the broken diphthong [wo] found in, for instance, *duorje* and *fuotten*.

ue Always [yə], as in *nuet* or *natuer*.

ui Invariably the [øy] found in *stuit* or *ruilje*.

y In closed syllables the *y* is phonetically [i] - *myn, fyts*. However, in open syllables [i] is usually spelled *i*, as in *wite* 'white' (cf. uninflected *wyt* 'white'). The pronouns *hy, wy, my, dy*, and the preposition *by* are also pronounced with the diphthong [ɛi], but are typically [i] in the Wâlden. The demonstrative pronoun *dy*, on the other hand, can only be [di].

3.2. Letters representing the consonants

Listed below are the phonetic values of the letters which are used in the Frisian spelling system to represent the consonants. Note that double letters (be*tt*er, si*tt*e) are not true geminates, but simply serve to indicate that the preceding vowel is short. The effects of assimilation and devoicing (see sec. 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.3) are predictable and are therefore not extensively mentioned in this chart. For example, it need not be stated explicitly that orthographic *b* is pronounced [p] in *slaab*, since word-final *b* is always voiceless.

Letter *Description*

b Always stands for [b], as in *tobbe* and *beam*.

ch Stands for [x] in words like *kachel* and *each*.

d Represents *d*, but is usually silent before *l*, as in *nudle* or *gurdle*.

f This letter is always pronounced [f], as in *fiif*.

g May be [g], as in *gean*, or [ɣ], as in *pleagje* (see sec. 2.2.2.10).

h Always represents [h]. It is normally silent in most dialects before [w] or [j], as in *hjerst* or *hoart*. In the older spelling it appeared as a silent letter in question words such as *hwat* and *hwa*, now spelled *wat* and *wa*. Still written, but not spoken, is the *h* in *thús* and *thee*.

j Always stands for [j], as in *juster*. Following stems ending in *i* it was formerly inserted before a suffix beginning with a vowel: *waaije*, now spelled *waaie*. It often remains unpronounced before [i], as in *jier* [iər].

k Represents [k], as in *kok*. In the suffix *-sk* it is not consistently pronounced (*fransk* [frɔ̃:s(k)]), although the more careful pronunciation with [k] is preferred, and often required (*grutsk*).

l Stands for [l], which sometimes drops in forms of *wol* and *sil* in rapid speech (see sec. 2.2.2.5). The *l* is sometimes silent before *d* (*âld, kâld*).

m Invariably represents [m], as in *miene* and *beam*.

n Often represents [n], but frequently undergoes assimilation of place to [m] or [ŋ] (sec. 2.2.2.1) and nasalization (sec. 2.1.2.1).

p Stands for [p], as in *pear* or *op*.

r Represents [r] as in *roer*, but is silent before *t, d, n, l, s*, and *z* (*bern, wurd*) and in some other situations (sec. 2.2.2.6).

s This letter stands for [s] in most circumstances (*see, bus*).

sj Represents phonetic [sj], as in *sjen*.

t Always [t], as in *ta* or *boat*.

tsj This combination is phonetically [tsj], as in *tsjerke* or *tsjil*.

v Written *v* is mostly pronounced [v], for instance, *nuver*.

w At the beginning of a word, *w* stands for [v] (*wetter, wiet*); when a [w] follows, this [v] is usually dropped: *woartel* is [watəl], or rarely [vwatəl]. A double *w* word-internally (*hawwe*) is also [v]. Single *w* at the end of the word *haw* is pronounced [f]. A *w* pronounced as [w] is inserted between a stem-final diphthong ending in *u* and a vowel-initial suffix: *bou - bouwe, sleau - sleauwens*. Directly following consonants it is articulated as [w] or [v] (*kwea, swart, twinge*).

x Not used in normal vocabulary, but may occasionally represent [ks] in names like *Rixt*.

y Very rarely (mostly in pre-1945 documents) used for [j] (*yeske* 'ashes', now *jiske*); at this time it may only represent a vowel, hence see sec. 3.1.

z Generally stands for [z], as in *huzen* or *doaze*.

3.3. Some spelling rules

One of the most important rules of the Frisian spelling system is that, for the most part, long vowels must be represented by a double letter in closed syllables. A closed syllable is one which ends in a consonant, either as in *sit* or in *sit-te*. Thus a long vowel like [e:] is doubled in *reed*, but is not in the plural *redens*, since this word is divided into syllables as *re-dens*, and a single vowel in an open syllable is assumed to be long.

Short vowels are indicated by the fact that they occur singly in orthographically closed syllables - *pet* and *petten*, for example. Notice that this can lead to some alternation in the spelling of related words, even when the pronunciation of the stem remains the same:

kat	'cat'	→	*katten*	'cats'
pet	'cap'	→	*petten*	'caps'
hoopje	'to hope'	→	*hope*	'hoped'
wiid	'wide'	→	*wide*	'wide (inflected)'
maat	'friend'	→	*maten*	'friends'

This same rule applies, very roughly, to the effects of breaking, where a single consonant after a diphthong indicates a falling (unbroken) diphthong and a double consonant the presence of a broken, or rising diphthong:

soan	'son'	→	*soannen*	[swann̩]	'sons'
toan	'tone'	→	*toanen*	[toənn̩]	'tones'

Yet this rule really only works with any consistency on plurals, since the diminutives *toantsje* [toəntsjə] and *soantsje* [swantsjə] are indistinguishable in spelling. An exception to this is the broken variant of *oe,* which is spelled as *uo* [wo], as in *foet* 'foot' → *fuotten* 'feet', and where even in the diminutive *fuotsje* the presence of a broken diphthong is evident.

Furthermore, note that [u] and [u:], as well as [y] and [y:] cannot be differentiated in the spelling. Similarly, *i* in an open syllable can represent either long or short [i]: compare *wide* [vi:də] 'wide' with *side* [sidə] 'side'. A peculiarity with [i] is that it is written *y* in closed syllables (*wyt*) and [i] in open syllables (*wite*, the inflected form of *wyt* 'white'). The sounds [y] and [y:], which can never be distinguished in spelling, are written *ú* in closed syllables (*snút*) and *u* in open syllables (*snuten*).

The devoicing of consonants is not reflected in the spelling of the stops *b* and *d*, which are spelled as such even when pronounced [p] and [t], as in *slaab* [sla:p] and *bed* [bɛ:t]. Voicing is usually shown in the spelling of fricatives, on the other hand. The devoicing of the underlying form /skriəz/ is clearly indicated in the spelling of the singular *skries*, in contrast to the plural *skriezen*. This also plays a role in verbal morphology - compare *sûge* 'suck' with the 1sg. *sûch* and the 3sg. *sûcht.*

These are just a few of the most general tendencies in the Frisian spelling system. Other comments on the orthography are made as the need arises.

NOTE: Further information on Frisian spelling is to be found in Boersma (1978) and Dijkstra (1992).

4 MORPHOLOGY

4.1. The noun phrase

In Frisian, a noun phrase may consist of a noun standing by itself, of one or more adjectives plus a noun, or of a determiner plus a noun, with or without adjectives. In addition, adverbs may modify the adjectives in a noun phrase. The basic structure is thus

(DETERMINER) (ADVERB) (ADJECTIVE) NOUN

where the adverb can be present only if there is an adjective for it to modify, and where there can be more than one adjective.

4.1.1. Determiners

4.1.1.1. The indefinite article

The form of the indefinite article (which can be translated as 'a' or 'an') is *in* [ən]. This is historically a shortened form of *ien* 'one'. *In* can be used with any gender, but only in the singular, as in *in man* 'a man' or *in frou* 'a woman'.

NOTE: *In* is often pronounced as a syllabic nasal [n̩], which can assimilate (sec. 2.2.2.2) to the following consonant: *in kat* [ŋ kɔt]; *in beam* [m̩ bɪəm].

4.1.1.2. The definite article

The singular forms of the definite article are *de* [də] and *it* [ət], both meaning 'the', and *de* for all plural nouns: *de man* 'the man'; *it hûs* 'the house'; *de mannen* 'the men'; *de huzen* 'the houses'.

The choice between *de* and *it* is almost entirely a lexical matter. At one time Frisian had a three-way gender system (masculine, feminine, neuter), much like that in German or Latin. Because of certain phonological changes this distinction has been reduced to two: words with *it* are a reflex of the former neuter gender, and those with *de* can be traced back to the masculine and feminine. For that reason, words using *it* are here referred to as *neuter* and those taking *de* as *common.*

It must be emphasized that the terms *neuter* and *common* have no clearcut relationship to natural gender. A woman may be referred to as *it wiif* 'the wife, woman' and a girl or boy as *it famke* or *it jonkje*, even though all of these terms are grammatically neuter. When speaking about *it famke*, however, the pronoun *hja* or *sy* is utilized.

One rule of thumb is that diminutives are always neuter: *de man* but *it mantsje*

'the little man'; *de faam* 'the maid' but *it famke* 'the girl'. Similarly, gerunds are invariably neuter: *it iten* 'eating, food'; *it ûngetiidzjen* 'harvesting hay', as well as *it gerûs* 'the noise' or *it ûnthâld* 'the memory'. Nouns formed from adjectives with the use of the suffixes *-ens*, *-te*, or *-heid* are always common, as with the words *de grienens* 'the greenness' or *de aardichheid* 'the pleasantness'. Furthermore, almost all nouns ending in [ə] are common: *de bôle* 'the bread'; *de swipe* 'the whip'.

Some words, like those below, are distinguished solely by their grammatical gender:

de bosk	'woods'	*it bosk*	'bouquet, bundle'
de minske	'person'	*it minske*	'woman'
de sin	'sentence'	*it sin*	'temper, humor'
de Skrift	'Bible'	*it skrift*	'handwriting; notebook'
de soal	'sole'	*it soal*	'shipping channel'
de stof	'matter, material'	*it stof*	'dust'
de hier	'rent'	*it hier*	'hair'

Unlike English, abstract nouns in Frisian often take the definite article: *de leafde* 'love'; *de blydskip* 'happiness'; *de natoer* 'nature'; *it libben* 'life'; *de dea* 'death'.

The determiners *de* and *it* have reduced variants in both speech and writing. *It* is often written as *'t* before a vowel: *nei 't iten* [nait itn̩] 'after dinner'; *yn 't âld hûs* [int ɔ:t hu:s] 'in the old house'. *De* is reduced to *'e* [ə] when it occurs following the prepositions *yn* 'in', *út* 'out', *op* 'upon', *oan* 'on', *nêst* 'next to' and *om* 'around', and optionally after *oer* 'over', *troch* 'through', and *foar* 'in front of':

yn 'e tún	'in the garden'
oan 'e kant	'on the side'

When stressed, however, the full form always appears.

Certain relics of a more elaborate case system in the articles have survived into the modern language. These tend to be preserved in phrases like *op 'en doer* 'eventually'; *mei der tiid* 'in time'; *des Heare* 'of the Lord'; *te'n ein* 'finished, to the end'.

Another relic of this nature is the use of *de* for the dative case of *it* in a few established contexts, as in *út 'e hûs* 'out of the house'; *yn 'e hûs* 'in the house' (cf. *it hûs*). The utilization of *de* in this sense is restricted almost entirely to prepositional phrases of location, most frequently with *hûs* or *midden* as the object of the preposition.

Expressions of time with *fan* present another peculiarity in the use of the article. The phrase *fan 't jier*, for example, means 'this year'. Yet the seasons, though not neuter, sometimes take *fan 't* as well, despite the fact that *fan de* (or *fan 'e*) would be expected: *fan 't winter* 'this winter'; *fan 't hjerst* 'this autumn'; *fan 't maitiid* 'this spring'; and *fan 't simmer* 'this summer'. Other expressions of time do not share this aberration: *fan 'e moarn* 'this morning'; *fan 'e wike* 'this week'.

NOTE: For a study of article selection and article variation in Frisian, see Hoekstra and Visser (1996).

4.1.1.3. Other determiners

The article which expresses negation is *gjin*. This word is uninflected and is used with either gender in both the singular and the plural:

gjin man	'no man'
gjin frou	'no woman'
gjin manlju	'no men'
gjin froulju	'no women'

Another word which functions as a determiner is 'such', which has the following forms:

sok	before mass neuter nouns: *sok iten* 'such food';
sa'n	before singular count nouns (neuter or common): *sa'n hûs* 'such a house'; *sa'n nuvere man* 'such a strange man';
sokke	before plural nouns: *sokke sokken* 'such socks'; *sokke griene blêden* 'such green leaves'. *Sokke* is also used with mass common nouns: *sokke molke* 'such milk'.

Used substantively, *soks* occurs in the meaning 'such a thing, something like that'; *sa'nen* or *sa'n(en) ien* in the sense 'one like that' or 'one such as that'; and *sokken* with the meaning 'some of that kind, those':

sokken hoech ik net 'I don't need that kind (of things)'
ik wol sa'nen ien hawwe 'I want one like that'
soks liket my hielendal net aardich ta 'that kind of thing doesn't look nice to me at all'

NOTE: *Sa'n* is a shortened form of *sa in* 'so a', corresponding to *hoe'n* from *hoe in* 'how a'. An adjective following *in* takes the ending *-en* when it stands alone or before *ien* (as *in grienen ien*, sec. 4.1.2.3), which is thus a likely source for the 'extra' *-en* in *sa'nen ien* and *hoe'nen ien*.

4.1.1.4. Demonstrative pronouns

The determiners used as demonstrative pronouns are *dat* and *dy* [di] in the sense of 'that, those' and *dit* and *dizze* in the sense 'this, these'. *Dit* and *dat* overlap with *it* in where they occur, just as *dizze* and *dy* go with *de*:

it hûs, dit hûs, dat hûs 'the, this, that house'
de frou, dizze frou, dy frou 'the, this, that woman'
de minsken, dizze minsken, dy minsken 'the, these, those people'

In other words, *dizze* and *dy* go with common nouns in the singular and with all nouns in the plural; *dit* and *dat* go exclusively with neuter singular nouns.

Dit, dizze, dat, and *dy* are all used substantively (as nouns) in the singular: *dat is healwizerij* 'that is craziness'; *dizze is te fersliten* 'this one is too worn down', etc. In the plural *dizzen* 'these' and *dyen* (or *dy*) may occur: *dizzen binne beferzen* 'these are frozen'; *jou my dy mar* 'give me those, please'; *fan dyen kin men soks ferwachtsje* 'you can expect that from those'

NOTE: *Dit is* and *dat is* are sometimes pronounced [dɪs] and [dɔs] in colloquial Frisian. Also, *dizze* is, in the spoken language, often reduced to *dis* before *kear, kant,* and *tiid*: *dis kear* 'this time'; *dis kant* 'this side'; *om dis tiid hinne* 'around this time'.

4.1.2. Adjectives

The basic adjective can have either no inflection or it can end in *-e, -s* or *-en*. This applies not only to the positive, but also to the comparative and superlative forms. The *-en* and *-er* inflections may also be found in a restricted number of relic constructions which occur today only as fixed expressions (*út goeder bêst* 'for one's own good', *op 'en slimsten* 'at worst').

4.1.2.1. Adjective inflection

When an adjective stands alone, most often as a predicate adjective, it has no inflection:

dy hûn is âld	'that dog is old'
ús hûs bliuwt grien	'our house will remain green'

With a noun phrase consisting only of an adjective plus noun, the adjective is inflected (i.e., the suffix *-e* is added) before a common noun and is uninflected before one which is neuter. In the plural it is always inflected:

goede molke	'good milk'
goed bier	'good beer' (neuter)
goed iten	'good food' (neuter)
goede lju	'good people'
goede minsken	'good people'
goede bieren	'good beers' (neuter)

The addition of a determiner complicates the situation somewhat. Leaving aside a few exceptional cases for the moment, it is safe to say that any adjective which modifies a common noun or any plural noun will be inflected, regardless of what precedes it:

rike minsken	'rich people'
grutte huzen	'large houses'
goede wyn	'good wine'
de rike minsken	'the rich people'
in goede wyn	'a good wine'

dizze grutte huzen	'these large houses'
jimme grutte huzen	'your large houses'

Preceded by the indefinite article *in*, by the determiners *gjin* 'no', *elk* 'each', *hoe'n* 'what kind of', *mannich* 'many a', *ien* 'one', *sa'n* 'such a', or by a possessive pronoun, the adjective remains uninflected before a neuter singular noun:

[*in* / *sa'n* / *gjin* / *elk* / *hoe'n* / *mannich* / *ien* / *myn* / *jimme* / (etc.)]	*wyt skiep*	'a.(etc.) white sheep'

Yet when the determiner is *it, dit,* or *dat*, the adjective must be inflected:

[*it* / *dit* / *dat*]	*[dit] wite skiep*	*'the (etc.) wite skiep'*

The general situation can be summarized by two rules:

(1) *An adjective is inflected before a common noun and before any plural noun.*

(2) *An adjective is inflected before a neuter singular noun only when preceded by it, dit, and dat; elsewhere it takes no ending.*

4.1.2.2. Exceptions to the inflection of adjectives

To these general rules there are a number of exceptions. Some adjectives are never inflected under any conditions. These include adjectives ending in *-er* or *-ster* and which refer to inhabitants of a place; adjectives ending in *-en* which describe materials and which exceed two syllables; and the directions *rjochter* 'right' and *lofter* 'left':

dy izeren toer	'that iron tower'
de rjochter kant	'the right side'
de Ljouwerter krante	'the Ljouwert newspaper'
de Toppenhúster famkes	'the Toppenhuzen girls'

NOTE: In some dialects, adjectives in *-en* can be inflected (*dy izerene toer*).

There is further the possibility for a normally inflected adjective to be uninflected in certain collocations. This occurs in two main situations:

(1) Before the word *man* and occupations which refer to a trade or profession: *in ûngewoan man* 'an unusual man'; *in grut skriuwer* 'a great writer'. This occurs only after the article *in*.
(2) When the adjectives *âld* 'old', *jong* 'young', *lyts* 'little', and *grut* 'large, great' and some others precede nouns with which they enter into a close relationship semantically: *de âld feint* 'the old fellow'; *dat nij hûs* 'that new house'; *dy âld skuorre* 'that old shed'; *de jongfaam* 'the young woman'; *dat grou fanke* 'that big girl'. These collocations are very much like compounds, including how they are stressed, and are sometimes indeed written as one word. *Aldfeint* has stress on the latter element, as in a compound, while *âlde feint* stresses both elements. In every case the inflected adjective may also be utilized: *de jonge faam* is every bit as grammatical as *de jongfaam*, but the relationship between the two words is more intimate in the latter phrase, giving it more the sense of referring to a specific, known person, a connotation which the former phrase lacks.

NOTE: The inflection of adjectives ending in *-en* is further discussed by Dykstra (1984) and Dyk (1996).

4.1.2.3. The adjective suffix -en

The ending *-en* occurs on adjectives before *ien* 'one' in phrases like *in goeden ien* 'a good one'; *sa'n readen ien* 'such a red one'. The word *ien* may be dropped altogether, leaving *in readen* or *in goeden*. Note that these comments only hold following the articles *in*, *sa'n* and *gjin*; with *de* or *it* the adjective alone (without *ien*) suffices: *de reade* 'the red one'; *it âlde* 'the old, that which is old'.

The *-en* suffix may also be used instead of *-e* to add emphasis. This leads to noun phrases like *hy is in dregen baas* 'he is a tough guy' and *it is in djippen tinker* 'he is a deep thinker'. As with the above, this ending is found only after *in*, *gjin*, and *sa'n*.

NOTE: Historically, the ending *-en* in *in readen (ien)* is actually a reduced form of *ien*. When it had been reduced and reanalysed as an adjectival ending, a new *ien* could be added. The emphatic ending *-en* derives from the indefinite article *in* 'a' which had been incorporated into the adjective in constructions like Middle Frisian *so swieten rook* (Eng. *so sweet a flavor*). The development of the emphatic ending *-en* in Frisian is discussed by Van der Meer (1987).

4.1.2.4. Comparison

Comparatives of adjectives are normally formed by the addition of *-er* to the stem, and superlatives by adding *-st*:

read, reader, readst	'red, redder, reddest'
siik, siker, siikst	'sick, sicker, sickest'

These comparatives and superlatives take similar types of inflections to positives, but with some important differences. One is that before any noun, the superlative always takes the *-e* inflection. As predicate it is preceded by *it* and can be either with or without *-e*:

it âldste hûs	'the oldest house'
har jongste famke	'her youngest girl'
se is it âldst(e)	'she is the oldest'

NOTE: The element *it* in predicative superlatives, which is formally similar to the neuter definite article from which it derives historically, is synchronically a superlative particle. Note that the superlative particle is *it*, even when the subject noun is common gender (cf. *dit boek/dizze film is it moaist(e)* 'this book/film is the nicest'). The predicative superlative should be distinguished from the superlative in sentences like *dit boek is it moaiste* 'this book is the nicest one' and *dizze film is de moaiste* 'this film is the nicest one', where it is used substantively. In this case the definite article always agrees with the subject noun and the superlative adjective gets an obligatory ending *-e*.

If not preceded by a determiner, a comparative modifying a singular noun remains uninflected:

moaier frou is der net	'there is no lovelier woman'
grutter pleats is der net te finen	'there is no larger dairy farm to be found'

Beyond this, the comparative is inflected just as is the positive:

in griene wein	'a green wagon'
in grienere wein	'a greener wagon'
grienere weinen	'greener wagons'
sûn iten	'healthy food'
sûner iten	'healthier food'

The Frisian word *as* is the equivalent of English *than* in comparative constructions, as well as when equivalence is expressed:

Oene is jonger as syn omkesizzer	'Oene is younger than his nephew (his "uncle-sayer")'
Meije is meagerder as hy	'Meije is thinner than him'
se is like grut as har heit	'she is as big as her father'

4.1.2.5. Irregular comparison

The following adjectives and the adverb *graach* have irregular comparative and/or superlative forms:

goed 'good', *better, bêst*
folle 'much', *mear, meast*

graach 'gladly', *leaver* [ljɛvər] 'rather', *leafst* [ljɛ(f)st] 'most of all'
ier 'early', *earder* [jɛdər], *earst* [ɪəst] 'first, earliest'

In addition to being the comparative and superlative of *graach*, the forms *leaver* and *leafst* are also the regular comparatives of the adjective *leaf* 'dear'. In that function they do not undergo breaking. The comparatives and superlatives of *fier* 'far', *swier* 'heavy', and *moai* 'pretty' all undergo breaking (sec. 2.1.2.6).

Note also that *d* must be inserted before the suffix *-er* with all stems which end in *r*, and that it may be inserted following adjectives which terminate in *n* or *l* (sec. 2.2.2.9). *Minder* 'less, fewer; worse', the comparative of *min* 'few; bad', may occur only with the *d*, hence here the rule is not optional. The superlative of *min* is *minst* [mẽ:st] 'least; worst', which obligatorily has a long, nasalized vowel.

4.1.2.6. The adjective suffix -s

The positive and comparative take the suffix *-s* when the adjective follows *wat* 'something', *neat* 'nothing', *wat foar* 'what kind of', and some other words:

wat âlds	'something old'
neat nijers	'nothing newer'
wat foar raars is der no bard?	'what kind of awful thing happened now?'
hast neat betters te fertellen?	'have you nothing better to tell?'

4.1.3. The noun

Except for the plural ending, nouns in Frisian are essentially undeclined. There are a few isolated holdovers from an earlier case system, but these are insignificant in the language today. Hence, as is true for English and Dutch also, the function of a noun in a sentence is indicated not by its case, but by its position in the sentence.

4.1.3.1. Possession

There are two oft-used methods of expressing possession in Frisian. One is by inserting the possessor into a prepositional phrase with the preposition *fan*: *de hoed fan Jetze* 'the hat of Jetze, Jetze's hat'; *de kaai fan syn mem* 'the key of his mother, his mother's key'. The other is to use a possessive pronoun directly after the possessor: *Jetze syn hoed*, literally 'Jetze his hat', but better translated 'Jetze's hat'; *heit syn hynder* 'father's horse'; or *ús dochter har skoech* 'our daughter's shoe'.

The true genitive with *-s* ending is also used in literary contexts to indicate possession. This is seldom found, however, with monosyllabic proper names:

Sytses hûs	'Sytse's house'
Sjoukjes mem	'Sjoukje's mother'
ús buormans tún	'our neighbor's garden'
Fryslâns diken	'Friesland's dikes'

Sometimes the possessive with *fan* and that with *-s* are combined to produce phrases like *it hûs fan bakkers* 'the baker's house', although this is quite a literary or even antiquated construction.

Certain nouns show possession with the ending *-e*. These are chiefly relationship terms like *heit* 'father', *mem* 'mother', *pake* 'grandfather', *beppe* 'grandmother', *omke* 'uncle', and *muoike* 'aunt':

ús pake klok	'our grandfather's clock'
heite piip	'father's pipe'
memme klean	'mother's clothes'

This process is often used with the names of married couples, as in *Sikke Anny* 'Sikke's Anny, the Anny married to Sikke' or *Jetze Gryt* 'Jetze's Gryt'. With monosyllabic names, an *e* is added: *Jan* becomes *Janne* and *Pyt* becomes *Pite*, as in *Pite Sikje* 'Pyt's Sikje' (the spelling differences are orthographic only). Polysyllabic names which do not already end in *-e* do not undergo the process: *Meindert* cannot be used to form **Meinderte Gryt*. The possessive with *-e* is also rapidly becoming literary or antiquated.

NOTE: The *-s* genitive further has the function of creating a patronymic with Frisian names, where a person's second name is traditionally the name of the father: *Piter Jelles* 'Peter, son of Jelle, Jelle's Peter'; *Wytske Oenes* 'Wytske, daughter of Oene'. Of course, Frisians also have invariable last names, as the full names *Piter Jelles Troelstra* or *Wytske Oenes Jellema* illustrate.

With nouns referring to time, the *-s* genitive is often employed to something happening habitually at a particular time: *Tiisdeis* 'on Tuesdays'; *moarns* 'mornings', *maitiids* 'in spring'. A specific time may be indicated by the addition of the article: *de Tongersdeis* 'on Thursday' or *de middeis* 'in that afternoon', *de maitiids* 'that spring' (cf. Hoekstra 1989b).

4.1.3.2. Noun plurals

The regular formation of the plural is accomplished by the suffixation of either *-s* or *-en* to the underlying form of the noun.

(1) *-s is the plural marker of words ending in unaccented* -en, -em, -el, -er, -ert. *In addition, all diminutives take* -s, *as do many words of obviously foreign origin terminating in vowels.*
(2) *Elsewhere, the plural marker is* -en.

Examples:

biezem	'broom'	→	*biezems*
wurker	'worker'	→	*wurkers*
woartel	'carrot'	→	*woartels*
kikkert	'frog'	→	*kikkerts*
boatsje	'small boat'	→	*boatsjes*
mûske	'small mouse'	→	*mûskes*
doarp	'village'	→	*doarpen*

bril	'glasses'	→	*brillen*
seine	'scythe'	→	*seinen*
kroade	'wheelbarrow'	→	*kroaden*

One exception to the above is that words of more than one syllable ending in *-ing* may take either the *-en* or *-s* ending in the plural:

feriening	'organization'	→	*ferienings* or *ferieningen*
hjerring	'herring'	→	*hjerrings* or *hjerringen*

The choice of one over the other is largely a matter of which dialect one speaks; either is acceptable in Standard Frisian.

Many foreign borrowings which end in a full vowel, usually words of French origin, take *-s* in the plural:

auto	'car'	→	*auto's*
kado	'gift'	→	*kado's*
paraplu	'umbrella'	→	*paraplu's*
affysje	'poster'	→	*affysjes*
demonstraasje	'demonstration'	→	*demonstraasjes*

NOTE: In the last two items, [ə] is obviously not a full vowel. The *-s* plural must derive from the relationship between *-je* and *-i* (see sec. 2.1.2.2); *-s* would be the proper plural for a word ending in *-i*, which is a full vowel.

An apostrophe is often used when an *-s* is added to a word ending in a full vowel, regardless of whether the word is a possessive or a plural.

A number of plurals is simply irregular. They are listed below:

âlder	'parent'	→	*âlden*
bean	'bean'	→	*beane*
bern	'child'	→	*bern*
dei	'day'	→	*dagen*
eart	'pea'	→	*earte* [jɛtə], *earten* [jɛtn̩]
frou	'woman'	→	*froulju*
jonge	'boy'	→	*jonges*
ko	'cow'	→	*kij*
lears	'boot'	→	*learzens*
lid	'member'	→	*leden*
man	'man'	→	*manlju*
reed	'skate'	→	*redens*
skiep	'sheep'	→	*skiep*
skoech	'shoe'	→	*skuon*
wei	'way'	→	*wegen*

The word *lid* has a regular plural *lidden* in its meaning 'lid'. Also, *man* and *frou* have the regularly formed plurals *mannen* and *frouwen* alongside *manlju* and

froulju. The latter, which are more common, have a collective sense, while the former refer more to individuals. Compounds with *man*, like *timmerman* 'carpenter' and *seeman* 'sailor', tend to use *-lju* in the plural also: *timmerlju* and *seelju*. Observe further that the suffix *-heid* has the plural *-heden*: *wierheid* 'truth' and *wierheden* 'truths'. A few words ending in the (unstressed) suffix *-en* take the *-en* plural: *kristenen* 'Christians'; *heidenen* 'heathens'.

Some foreign (mainly Latin) plurals are in use in Frisian. Words ending in *-us* normally have the plural *-y*, and those with *-um* take *-a*:

akademikus	'academician'	→	*akademisy*
katalogus	'catalogue'	→	*katalogy*
kriterium	'criterion'	→	*kriteria*

Observe that the *k* at the end of a stem becomes *s* before the plural suffix *-y* (*akademisy*).

NOTE: The plurals *redens* and *learzens* are technically double plurals, having both an *-s* and an *-en* marker, and are thus comparable to the English historic double plurals *children* and *kine*. *Wolkens* 'clouds', *treppens* 'stairs', and *boeiens* 'handcuffs' are also common as double plurals, sometimes even with a singular reanalyzed on the basis of the plural, as in the occasional singular form *treppen* 'stair' or *wolken* 'cloud' for the more standard *trep* and *wolk*. For an explanation of why these and double morphology in general occurs, see Tiersma (1982).

Certain nouns which contain long diphthongs or which end in a liquid plus obstruent cluster are pronounced as two syllables in some dialects: *neil* 'fingernail' is [naiəl] and *earm* 'arm' is [ɪərəm]. They thus meet the conditions for taking the *-s* plural: *neils* and *earms*, as well as *stoarms* 'storms', *dweils* 'mops', and a few others. These are clearly dialectal, however.

A large variety of nouns undergoes breaking or shortening in the plural and also in the diminutive. The most common are listed below (see sec. 2.1.2.6 for details on breaking and sec. 2.1.2.5 for shortening):

(1) [iə] becomes [jɪ] in the plural and diminutive:

blier	kies	stien
flier	miel	trie
hier	priem	trien
jier	rier	

(2) [ɪə] becomes [jɛ] in the plural and diminutive:

beam	heak	reak
earm	keal	sleat
fear	peal	tean
feart	pream	

(3) [uə] becomes [wo] in the plural and diminutive:

boerd	hoed	spoen
broer	hoer	stoel
foet	koer	toer
goes	poel	

(4) [oə] becomes [wa] in the plural and diminutive:

doar	koal	soal ('sole')
hoarn	moarn	soan
hoas	skroar	

(5) A long vowel is shortened in both the plural and diminutive:

bân	hûs	lûs
beest	laam	mûs
faam	lân	raam ('ram')
hân		

(6) A long vowel is shortened in the diminutive only, not in the plural:

aai	lape	skroef
amer	nêst	stêd
bêd	piip	tafel
glês	priis	tsiis
kaai	rêch	wiif

Certain nouns do not take an overt plural ending when they are used as measurements. An example of this is *gûne* 'guilder' in a phrase like *fiif gûne* 'five guilders'. The plural marker is left out only when the substance being measured is one mass; if considered individually, the noun is pluralized. Thus *fiif gûnen* refers to five individual coins, while *fiif gûne* is simply a quantity, its exact composition irrelevant. Other nouns like *gûne* include *kop* 'head', *sek* 'sack', *snies* 'score', *foet* 'foot', *jier* 'year', *wike* 'week', *pûn* 'pound', *pûnsmiet* 'a measurement of land, roughly an acre', *ûns* 'ounce', *meter* 'meter', *mingel* 'liter' and some others, especially metric measures. Notice that only certain words of this semantic class can be utilized without an overt plural in this manner: *twa wike* 'two weeks' or *trije jier* 'three years' is normal, but **trije dei* 'three days' is impossible with the singular *dei* - it must be *trije dagen*. Likewise, *seis gûne* 'six guilders' is fine in the singular, but *sint* 'cent' cannot be used in this way - it must be *seis sinten* 'six cents'.

4.1.3.3. Diminutives

The diminutive is formed by adding *-ke*, *-tsje*, or *-je* to the noun stem. If the noun stem ends in [ə], the schwa is dropped; also, a voiced obstruent in stem-final position is devoiced before adding the diminutive suffix. The diminutive markers are distributed as follows:

(1) -ke *is appended to a stem ending in a vowel or diphthong, or in* [p b m f v s z r].
(2) *-tsje is the suffix following* [l n t d] *(the* t *of the suffix is not written after stems ending in* t *and* d*).*
(3) -je *is used after a stem which terminates in the velars* [k x ɣ]. *The* ng *becomes* nk *before the diminutive.*

Examples:

(1)	*do*	'dove'	→	*doke*
	kaai	'key'	→	*kaike*
	hap	'bite'	→	*hapke*
	slaab	'bib'	→	*slabke*
	beam	'tree'	→	*beamke*
	stove	'footstove'	→	*stoofke*
	slof	'slipper'	→	*slofke*
	tas	'purse'	→	*taske*
	hazze	'hare'	→	*haske*
	fear	'feather'	→	*fearke*
(2)	*peal*	'pole'	→	*pealtsje*
	tún	'garden'	→	*túntsje*
	boat	'boat'	→	*boatsje*
	pûde	'bag'	→	*pûdsje*
(3)	*stôk*	'stick'	→	*stokje*
	each	'eye'	→	*eachje*
	ring	'ring'	→	*rinkje*

Some of the above words undergo breaking or shortening of the vowel of the stem when the diminutive suffix is added (e.g. *kaike*, *stofke*, *fearke* [fjɛrkə], and *pealtsje* [pjɛltsjə].) A list of the most important words which are subject to these processes in the diminutive (and plural) is found in sec. 4.1.3.2.

With words which end in *st*, the *t* is not pronounced before the diminutive suffix, and the suffix chosen is normally that which fits after the *s*:

nêst	'nest'	→	*nestke*	[nɛskə]
kiste	'chest'	→	*kistke*	[kɪskə]
beest	'animal'	→	*bistke*	[bɪskə]

NOTE: In several dialects the suffix is chosen *before* the *t* is deleted, resulting in the diminutives *kistje* [kɪsjə] and the like, where the ending fits the *t* rather than the *s*. See further sec. 2.2.2.5.

Ko, with the irregular plural *kij*, has the peculiarity that in addition to the regular diminutive *koke* 'small cow', it occasionally has a diminutive formed on the plural stem: *kijkes* 'small cows', which is used exclusively in the plural, mostly by children. Other diminutives are formed on the singular stem.

NOTE: In choosing the proper diminutive suffix, there is some vascillation between *-ke* and *-tsje* with certain words. Following *l*, *t*, and *n* it is possible to have *-ke* as a diminutive marker, but these involve largely fossilized constructions, especially names: *holke* 'small head'; *Tetke* (name); *Hylke* (name). Words ending in vowels traditionally take *-ke*, but more recently borrowed words quite often take *-tsje*: *autootsje* 'small car'; *kadootsje* 'small gift'. See also Breuker (1982) and Hoekema (1958).

Diminutives can be formed for almost any concrete, countable noun. Exceptions are most words for periods of time (*dei, wike, moanne*, etc.) and money (*gûne, sint*, etc.), which form diminutives less readily. In their most basic sense, diminutives indicate the diminuted, or smaller, size of an object. The diminutive of *beam* 'tree' is *beamke*, meaning 'small tree'. Beyond signifying smaller size, diminutives are used at times to express affection: *popke* 'small doll' or *wyfke* 'little lady' are commonly heard in this sense in reference to babies or small girls.

Diminutives are also quite common with personal names, where many male names have female equivalents which are essentially derived from the diminutive of the male form of the name:

Geart	→	*Geartsje*
Auke	→	*Aukje*
Sytse	→	*Sytske*
Lolke	→	*Lolkje*
Sjouke	→	*Sjoukje*
Piter	→	*Piterke*
Jetze	→	*Jetske*

Since diminution is such a productive process, the meaning of the diminutive seldom deviates from that of the stem - *fearke* is simply a small *fear* 'feather'. At times, though, the diminutive can have a signification which the stem lacks. *Húske*, for instance, refers not merely to a little house, but to an outhouse or toilet. *Kaartsje* 'ticket' is different from *kaart* 'map', and a *múske* 'jokester' is more than a small mouse. In some instances there are two diminutives which have been formed from the same stem (doublets): compare *múske* with *mûske* 'small mouse' and *húske* 'toilet' with *hûske* 'small house'. Diminutives are in a few cases based on words other than nouns, as are the egg-seeker's terms formed from numbers: *ientsje* 'nest with one egg', and *twake* 'two eggs in a nest', *trijke* 'three eggs in a nest'.

NOTE: Diminutives can also be based on non-countable nouns (*ark* 'tools' - *arkje* 'tool, instrument'), adjectives (*sleau* 'dull' - *sleauke* 'dull girl'), adverbials (*foar iten* 'before dinner' - *foaritentsje* 'aperitif') and verbs (*fertelle* 'tell' - *ferteltsje* 'story'). For these extensions of the use of the diminutive suffix, see Hoekstra (1986).

Historically, the diminutive suffix could be added to words of various categories without changing the categorical status of the base. Thus, the diminutive suffix could, for example, be used to form diminutive verbs. A relic of this is the diminutive or iterative suffix *-k* in verbs like:

gnize	'grin'	→	*gnyskje*	'grin somewhat'
drave	'trot'	→	*drafkje*	'trot somewhat'
farre	'to sail'	→	*farkje*	'be boating'
aaie	'stroke'	→	*aikje*	'stroke softly'

From verbs like these a semantically empty link morpheme *-k* has been abstracted, which is often added to verbs formed by conversion. Compare:

boer	'farmer'	→	*buorkje*	'farm'
fûst	'fist'	→	*fûstkje*	'shake hands'
skier	'gray'	→	*skierkje*	'become gray'
do	'you'	→	*dookje*	'be on first-name terms'

More information on *k*-verbs can be found in Van der Meer (1988a) and Hoekstra (1998).

4.1.4. Pronouns

4.1.4.1. Personal pronouns

As opposed to nouns, where no distinctions between subject and object are evident in the morphology, there are separate pronouns for the different cases:

		subject		*object*	
1sg.		*ik*	'I'	*my*	'me'
2sg.	familiar	*do*	'you (thou)'	*dy*	'you (thee)'
2sg.	polite	*jo*	'you'	*jo*	'you'
3sg.		*hy*	'he'	*him*	'him'
		sy/hja	'she'	*har*	'her'
		it	'it'	*it*	'it'
1pl.		*wy*	'we'	*ús*	'us'
2pl.	fam. & pol.	*jimme*	'you'	*jimme*	'you'
3pl.		*sy/hja*	'they'	*har(ren)*	'them'

The 1sg. pronoun *ik* has the emphatic form *ikke*. It may also be reduced in rapid conversation to [k], as in *'k wit net* [kvɪt nɛt] 'I don't know' or *dat 'k* [dɔk] 'that I'. *My* is generally pronounced [mɛi], but is [mi] in the Wâlden. When unstressed, it is usually pronounced [mi] in all dialects. As is also true of *hy*, *dy*, and *wy*, which undergo similar dialectal differences in pronunciation, *my* and these other words may be written *mij, hij, dij*, and *wij* when pronounced with [ɛi]. Generally,

however, they are written as *my*, *hy*, etc., throughout Friesland, regardless of how they are pronounced.

Do as a second person pronoun is equivalent to what *thou* once was in English - it was used with close friends and children. The use of the familiar form is more conservative in Frisian than in Dutch or German; *do* is less often used with strangers, even those of the same age, and many children still address their parents with the polite *jo*, although the norm is becoming looser.

Do (dialectally *dû*) has the enclitic forms *-sto* (also *-ste* or simply *-st*) when it occurs directly following the verb or a subordinating conjunction:

wat bist do moai 'how pretty you are' (full form)
or: *wat bisto moai* (with clitic form *-sto*)
or: *wat biste moai* (with clitic form *-ste*)
or: *wat bist moai* (no pronoun expressed)

The pronoun *do* (and no other) can be left out entirely, as in the last example above, or as in *giest te hurd*! 'you're going too fast!' Take note of the fact that the *st* of the clitic is dropped following another *st*: *bist-sto* becomes *bisto*. Similarly, with stems ending in *t*, the *t* is dropped before the *st* of the suffix: *at-sto* 'if you' becomes *asto* or simply *ast*. Both of these are normal cases of consonant cluster simplification (sec. 2.2.2.5) and degemination (sec. 2.2.2.4).

What is curious about these clitics is that they not only occur directly after the verb, but also following subordinating conjunctions, including relative pronouns:

ik	*wit*	*datsto* (or *datst* [dɔst])	*thús*	*bist*
I	know	that-you	home	are

'I know that you are at home'

asto	*moarn*	*farst,*	*wol*	*ik*	*graach*	*meigean*
if-you	tomorrow	sail,	want	I	please	go-along

'if you sail tomorrow, I'd like to go along'

wylsto	*lêst,*	*sil*	*ik*	*in*	*brief*	*skriuwe*
while-you	read,	will	I	a	letter	write

'while you read, I will write a letter'

dat	*is*	*de*	*jongfaam*	*dy'tst* [dist]	*kenst*
that	is	the	young-woman	who-you	know

'that is the young woman whom you know'

NOTE: There is some discussion in Frisian linguistics on the status of *-sto*, *-ste*, *-st*. The clitic theory adhered to in this book is also defended by Van der Meer (1991). Visser (1988b) and Hoekstra and Marácz (1989a, 1989b), on the other hand, analyse these elements as the verbal ending *-st* + *do*, its reduced variant [də] or its zero variant. In their analysis, conjunctions with these elements show inflection, a phenomenon that is well known from other Germanic dialects. For an evaluation of both analyses, see De Haan (1994).

Like *my*, the objective form *dy* is generally pronounced [dɛi], or [di] in the Wâlden, and is [di] in all dialects when not stressed.

The polite form for 'you' is *jo*, which is always used with plural verbs, as in *jo binne* 'you are'. The objective form is identical to the subject pronoun. *Jo* is always used with strangers, as well as with anyone with whom one is not intimate or who is older and/or demands a certain measure of respect.

On the other hand, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, etc., are usually addressed by their title in the third person:

wol heit noch in bakje kofje?	'do you want another cup of coffee, father?'
dokter hat in moaie wein kocht	'you bought a nice car, doctor'
kin hy moarn ek lâns komme?	'can you come by tomorrow?' (to a boy)
dus Sytse hat in nije fyts	'so you have a new bicycle, Sytse'

In each of these cases, *Sytse*, *hy*, *heit*, or *dokter* could also have been translated as 'you', which is how it would normally be expressed in English. Note that this is used not only with relationship terms, but that names and titles may be converted to forms of address as well.

NOTE: Addressing someone in the third person seems to involve some degree of intimacy, especially when a person's name is used instead of a title; *wol Gerke ek meikomme* 'does Gerke want to come along' might be said to a child. When combined with a relationship term or title (*heit*, *mem*, *dokter*) it shows respect while bridging the coldness of the polite *jo*.

As opposed to usage in German and older English, where God is addressed with the familiar *du* or *thou*, respectively, God is spoken to with *jo* in Frisian. The form *jo*, incidentally, is derived from the object form of the older 2pl. pronoun *ji*, which has fallen out of use. Its development is thus quite parallel to that of English *you*, the objective form of the old 2pl. *ye*, a cognate form to Fri. *ji*. The use of the second person plural as the pronoun of respect in the singular is well attested in European languages - compare Fr. *vous*, which originally was only a second person plural, but later came to be used for the polite form of 'you' as well.

The 3sg. masculine pronoun *hy* has the object form *him* [hɪm], which may be reduced to [əm] when not stressed. *Hy* has the clitic *er*, which occurs, like *-sto*, following verbs and subordinating conjunctions:

ik seach dat er fuort wie	'I saw that he was gone'
hoe let komt er thús?	'what time is he coming home?'

Sy or *hja* is the feminine equivalent to *hy*. In spoken Frisian *sy* is the current form; *hja* is quite literary and is generally pronounced [ja]. The reduced form of the feminine pronoun is *se* [sə], which occurs not only where clitics may, but anytime when the pronoun is not accented:

Benjamin wit dat se hjir is	'Benjamin knows that she is here'
se siedt hjoed it iten	'she's cooking the food today'

The pronoun *it* [ət] 'it', which has no particular clitic form, can be reduced to [t], written *'t*:

't wie in lange dei	'it was a long day'

doe seach se 't op 't hiem
then saw she it on the yard
'then she saw it in the yard'

Neither natural gender nor grammatical gender is strictly adhered to in the choice of third person pronouns. In reference to people, *hy* or *sy/hja* is used, depending on the sex of the person, even when that person is referred to with a neuter noun: *it famke hat har tas ûnder 'e earm* 'the girl has her purse under the (her) arm.' Observe that the girl is referred to as 'her', although *it famke* is grammatically neuter. Animals of both sexes are commonly referred to with *hy* and *him*: *Wêr is dy ko? Ik ha him juster noch sjoen* 'where is that cow? I saw him just yesterday'. Inanimate objects are referred to as both *hy* and *it*.

Wy 'we' is pronounced [vɛi] (or in the Wâlden, [vi]) and has the unstressed variant *we* [və] or [vi], which is used in overlapping situations as the *se* from *sy*. The objective form *ús* has no reduced variant.

Jimme, which is often pronounced and sometimes written *jim*, is the plural for both *do* and *jo*. The objective form is identical to the subject pronoun, and has the same reduced variant. *Jimme* is in origin a composite made up of the old 2pl. *ji* 'ye' and the word *men*, much like colloquial English *you guys*.

Sy/hja 'they' is distinguished from *sy/hja* 'she' only by the verb: the former takes a plural verb form and the latter the singular. As with the pronoun for 'she', *sy/hja* 'they' has the unstressed variant *se*. The objective form may be *harren* or *har* 'them', but *harren* is often preferred to avoid confusion with *har* 'her'. *Har(ren)* has an unstressed variant *se*.

NOTE: Whereas *har(ren)* may occur in every position, the distribution of *se* is more restricted. It may occur in direct and indirect object position, but not after prepositions, in free dative position, or as a reflexive pronoun. Compare:

ik ha har(ren)/se sjoen	'I have seen them'
hy hat it har(ren)/se jûn	'he has given it to them'
*ik wachtsje op har(ren)/*se*	'I wait for them'
*dat wie har(ren)/*se te fier*	'it was too far for them'
*hja skammen har(ren)/*se*	'they were embarassed'

For a study of the distribution of *har(ren)* and *se*, see Hoekstra (1994a).

The chart below summarizes the reduced and clitic forms of the personal pronouns. Observe that the clitic form directly follows the finite verb (*iet er* 'ate he'; *hasto* 'have you') or a subordinating conjunction (*wylst er* 'while he'; *datsto* 'that you'). A reduced form may, in contrast, occur anywhere in the sentence

where it receives less stress. The forms listed in phonetic brackets belong exclusively to the spoken language, and are hence never written as such:

Pronoun	*Unstressed form*	*Clitic*
ik 'I'	*'k*	---
my 'me'	[mi]	---
do 'you' (sg.fam.)	---	*-sto, -ste, -st*
dy 'you' (object)	[di]	---
jo 'you' (sg.pol.)	*je*	---
hy 'he'	---	*er*
him 'him'	[əm]	---
sy/hja 'she'	*se*	---
har 'her'	[ər]	---
it 'it'	*'t*	---
wy 'we'	*we*	---
ús 'us'	---	---
jimme (jim) 'you'	*jim*	---
sy/hja 'they'	*se*	---
har(ren) 'them'	*se*	---

NOTE: *Sy*, widely used in spoken Frisian for 'she' and 'they', is often considered substandard because of its Dutch origin. Dutch *hun* for *harren* is also very common in speech, but is even more forcefully rejected by the standard language. See further Fokkema (1968).

4.1.4.2. Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns have two main forms: one when they occur before (and thus, modify) a noun, and the other when standing alone, generally in a predicative function. The pertinent forms are listed below:

	modifying	*predicative*
1sg.	*myn* 'my'	*mines/minen* 'mine'
2sg. familiar	*dyn* 'your'	*dines/dinen* 'yours'
2sg. polite	*jo* 'your'	*jowes* 'yours'
3sg.	*syn* 'his, its'	*sines/sinen* 'his, its'
	har 'her'	*harres* 'hers'
1pl.	*ús* 'our'	*uzes* 'ours'
2pl.	*jimme* 'your'	*jimmes* 'yours'
3pl.	*har/harren* 'their'	*harres* 'theirs'

None of these forms is further inflected - *syn wiif* 'his wife'; *har man* 'her husband'; *dat is uzes* 'that is ours'; *mines is thús* 'mine is at home'. Instead of normal *jo*, the form *jins* (no predicative form) is sometimes used for the polite second person in literary style.

4.1.4.3. Indefinite pronouns

The pronoun which refers to no one in particular or to people in general in Frisian is *men*, equivalent to English *one* or *you*. In Frisian this indefinite pronoun may include or refer to the speaker: *men moat altyd it smoarge wurk dwaan* 'I (one) always have to do the dirty work'. Compare *men rydt yn Amearika yn grutte autos* 'one drives big cars in America', which is appropriate if one is, in actual fact, driving a big car in the United States. The objective form of *men* is *jin* and the possessive is *jins* (predicative *jinnes*), both derived via breaking from *ien* 'one': *men kin der neat oan dwaan* 'you (one) can't do anything about it'; *men moat jin oan jins wurd hâlde* 'you must hold yourself to your word'; *soks docht jin goed* 'such things do you a lot of good'; *wat men fynt, is jinnes* 'wat you find is yours'.

The 2sg. polite pronoun may be used in the function of the indefinite pronoun as well: *jo meie tsjintwurdich net hurder as hûndert kilometer ride* 'you (one) may not drive faster than one hundred kilometers (per hour) these days'.

Other words used in a similar capacity include *elk* (*elts*) or *elkenien* 'everyone'; *mannichien* 'many a person'; *immen* or *ien* 'someone'; *nimmen* or *gjinien* 'nobody', and *se* 'they'.

NOTE: For a detailed study of the historical development of the indefinite pronoun *men* in Frisian, see Krol (1985).

4.1.4.4. Reflexive pronouns and sels

In many cases there is no special marker for the reflexive in Frisian; instead, the regular object forms of the personal pronouns are used:

ik skamje my	'I'm embarrassed' (lit.: 'I shame myself')
se wasket har	'she washes herself'
hy stiek him yn 'e finger	'he stuck himself in the finger'
heit skeart him twa kear deis	'father shaves (himself) twice a day'

When there is ambiguity possible, and/or the speaker wishes to emphasize that the action is reflexive, *-sels* is suffixed to the pronoun:

se wasket harsels	'she washes her*self*'
heit skeart himsels	'father shaves him*self*'

It may be more accurate to state that the plain pronoun is preferred with verbs which are grammatically reflexive (*skamje* 'shame', for instance, which must have an object which refers back to the subject) or with verbs which are most often reflexive (*skeare* 'shave', an action normally, but not always, done to oneself). In other cases, pronouns with *-sels* are preferred and sometimes virtually obligatory, since with non-reflexive verbs the expected interpretation of a sentence like *hy sjocht him yn 'e spegel* is the non-reflexive 'he sees him in the mirror', despite the fact that the interpretation 'he sees himself in the mirror' is logically just as possible. Even in the first person, where absolutely no ambiguity is conceivable, the form with *-sels* is often preferred: *ik sjoch mysels yn 'e spegel* 'I see myself in the mirror'.

Sels as a free morpheme following a noun or a pronoun expresses the fact that the person performed an action alone or emphasizes that the person in question was actually involved, similar to English 'I myself' or 'John himself':

ik seach de minister sels	'I saw the minister himself'
Durk sels hat yn tsjerke west	'Durk himself was in church'
Durk hat sels yn tsjerke west (as above)	

In the above sentences, stress is always heavier on *sels* than it is on the preceding noun.

When the *sels* precedes the word to which it refers, with lesser stress on *sels*, it carries the meaning 'even':

Sels Dúrk hat yn tsjerke west	'even Durk was in church'
Durk hat sels yn tsjérke west	'Durk was even in church'

To better see the contrast between these two varieties of *sels*, compare:

ik ha har séls sjoen	'I saw her *myself*'
ik ha har sels sjóén	'I even *saw* her'

4.1.4.5. Reciprocal pronouns

Inoar [ənwar] and *elkoar* [əlkwar] or [əlkoər], translated into English as 'each other' or 'one another', are the reciprocal pronouns in Frisian. The two forms are wholly interchangeable:

wy troffen inoar yn Snits	'we met one another in Snits'
or: *wy troffen elkoar yn Snits*	

The reciprocal pronouns may be fused with prepositions, with stress on the preposition:

meiinoar	'with one another'
útelkoar	'out of each other, away from each other'
opinoar	'on top of each other'
opelkoar	(as above)

These prepositional phrases can function as adverbs or verbal particles; as such they behave much like separable prefixes:

útinoargean	'to separate' (lit.: 'to go out of each other')
wannear binne se útinoargien?	'when did they split up?'
opelkoarsteapelje	'pile on top of each other'

Auke steapele de doazen opelkoar	'Auke piled the boxes on top of each other'

4.1.4.6. Relative pronouns

The relative pronoun *dy't* occurs following common nouns and *dat* after neuter nouns. *Dêr't* is used to designate a place: *de pleats dêr't wy wenje* 'the farm where we live'. When an entire sentence is relativized, *wat* is used. Examples of all of the above are in sec. 5.3.4.

When a relative clause is preceded by an unspecified head, as in the English expressions *that which* or *he who*, an article or demonstrative pronoun with the suffix *-jinge* occurs: *dejinge, itjinge, ditjinge, datjinge*, and the plurals *dejingen* and *dyjingen*. Examples:

datjinge dat my muoit	'that which bothers me'
dyjingen dy't meidwaan sille	'those who will participate'

4.2. The verb

Frisian verbs can be divided into those whose preterite and past participle formation is determined by rule (and are hence regular) and those whose principal parts are not regularly derived. The former are traditionally known as *weak* verbs and the latter are mostly (but not always in today's language) *strong*. The weak verbs are further subcategorized into class I and class II, remnants of an original Germanic classification of weak verbs into four categories. Class I weak verbs are characterized by an infinitive which ends in *-e*, while class II infinitives end in *-je*.

The ensuing three subsections will discuss the formation of the past tense and past participle (the *principal parts*) of each of these three classes of verbs, plus giving the conjugations of the various tenses. Section 4.2.4 contains a list of irregular verbs, and in section 4.2.5 the formation of complex tenses like the future tense, the past perfect, and the passive are discussed.

4.2.1. Class I weak verbs

Weak verbs which belong to class I have infinitives ending in *-e*, and are indistinguishable in the infinitive from strong verbs. There are only two tenses in Frisian - the present tense and the preterite - which are formed by inflecting the verb. The rest are formed by the use of auxiliary verbs. The present and past tense forms for two class I weak verbs, *miene* 'think, be of the opinion' and *rûke* 'smell', followed by the relevant inflection in isolation, are given below:

Present tense:

inf.	*miene* 'to think'	*rûke* 'to smell'	*-e*
1sg.	*ik mien* 'I think'	*ik rûk* 'I smell'	*-ø*
2sg. fam.	*do mienst* 'you think'	*do rûkst* 'you smell'	*-st*

2sg. pol.	*jo miene* 'you think'	*jo rûke* 'you smell'	*-e*
3sg.	*hja mient* 'she thinks'	*hy rûkt* 'he smells'	*-t*
1pl.	*wy miene* 'we think'	*wy rûke* 'we smell'	*-e*
2pl.	*jimme miene* 'you think'	*jimme rûke* 'you smell'	*-e*
3pl.	*hja miene* 'they think'	*hja rûke* 'they smell'	*-e*

Preterite:

1sg.	*ik miende* 'I thought'	*ik rûkte* 'I smelled'	*-de*
2sg. fam.	*do miendest* 'you thought'	*do rûktest* 'you smelled'	*-dest*
2sg. pol.	*jo mienden* 'you thought'	*jo rûkten* 'you smelled'	*-den*
3sg.	*hy miende* 'he thought'	*hja rûkte* 'she smelled'	*-de*
1pl.	*wy mienden* 'we thought'	*wy rûkten* 'we smelled'	*-den*
2pl.	*jimme mienden* 'you thought'	*jimme rûkten* 'you smelled'	*-den*
3pl.	*hja mienden* 'they thought'	*hja rûkten* 'they smelled'	*-den*

Present Participle:

mienend(e) 'thinking'	*rûkend(e)* 'smelling'	*-end(e)*

Past Participle:

miend 'thought'	*rûkt* 'smelled'	*-d*

Imperative:

mien 'think'	*rûk* 'smell'	*-ø*

Class I verbs are completely regular. Given any verb which belongs to this category, all the relevant forms can be composed on the above model. Characteristic for this class is that the preterite is marked by the morpheme *-de*, to which are attached the personal endings. Notice, however, that the endings suffixed to the preterite stem *miende* differ from those of the present in that the 3sg. has a *-t* suffix in the present but no suffix in the preterite, and in that the pl. ending is *-e* in the present and *-en* in the past.

The *-de* marker of the preterite becomes *-te* (a type of assimilation) when it directly follows a stem with an underlying voiceless obstruent, which amounts to *p, t, k, f, s*, or *ch*. This is illustrated by *rûkte* above. A final underlying voiced fricative (*v, z*) is spelled as though it were voiceless (with *f* or *s*), but takes the suffix *-de* and is pronounced as voiced: *drave* 'run' has the principal parts *draafde* [dra:və] and *draafd*, pronounced [dra:ft] because of final devoicing. However, stems ending in *g* retain it: note the pret. *hoegde* and p.p. *hoegd* (from *hoege* 'need to').

NOTE: In conservative varieties of Frisian the pret. 2sg. fam. form is *mienst* and *rûkst* in place of *miendest* and *rûktest*; in other words, the pret. marker *de/te* is left out in the formation of the pret. 2sg. familiar.

Stems which end in *d* or *t* have no additional marker for the past participle (or rather, it is deleted by the degemination rule): *praat* is the past participle of *prate* 'talk' and *set* of *sette* 'set' in conservative dialects. Many Frisians have the rule, however, that the past participle

marker is *-en* for stems of this kind: *praten* 'spoken'; *setten* 'set (p.p.)'. In this way, a transparent marker for the past participle has been re-established (cf. Van der Veen 1980).

4.2.2. Class II weak verbs

Helje 'fetch' and *fetsje* 'grasp' serve as models below in illustrating the conjugation of class II verbs:

Present:

inf.	*helje* 'to fetch'	*fetsje* 'to grasp'	*-je*
1sg.	*ik helje* 'I fetch'	*ik fetsje* 'I grasp'	*-je*
2sg. fam.	*do hellest* 'you fetch'	*do fettest* 'you grasp'	*-est*
2sg. pol.	*jo helje* 'you fetch'	*jo fetsje* 'you grasp'	*-je*
3sg.	*hja hellet* 'she fetches'	*hy fettet* 'he grasps'	*-et*
1pl.	*wy helje* 'we fetch'	*wy fetsje* 'we grasp'	*-je*
2pl.	*jimme helje* 'you fetch'	*jimme fetsje* 'you grasp'	*-je*
3pl.	*hja helje* 'they fetch'	*hja fetsje* 'they grasp'	*-je*

Preterite:

1sg.	*ik helle* 'I fetched'	*ik fette* 'I grasped'	*-e*
2sg. fam.	*do hellest* 'you fetched'	*do fettest* 'you grasped'	*-est*
2sg. pol.	*jo hellen* 'you fetched'	*jo fetten* 'you grasped'	*-en*
3sg.	*hja helle* 'she fetched'	*hy fette* 'he grasped'	*-e*
1pl.	*wy hellen* 'we fetched'	*wy fetten* 'we grasped'	*-en*
2pl.	*jimme hellen* 'you fetched'	*jimme fetten* 'you grasped'	*-en*
3pl.	*hja hellen* 'they fetched'	*hja fetten* 'they grasped'	*-en*

Present Participle:

heljend(e) 'fetching'	*fetsjend(e)* 'grasping'	*-jend(e)*

Past Participle:

helle 'fetched'	*fette* 'grasped'	*-e*

Imperative:

helje 'fetch'	*fetsje* 'grasp'	*-je*

Notice that, as with the class I verbs, the present plural and the present 2sg.pol. forms are always identical to one another. Additionally, if one interprets the marker of the preterite to be *-e* for class II verbs and *de/te* for those of class I, then the personal endings of both classes are the same in the past tense.

Before a *-je* suffix, stem-final *d* becomes *dz* and *t* becomes *ts*, as exemplified by *fetsje*, which is underlyingly *fet-je*; see further sec. 2.2.2.7. Also, verbs of this class which consist of three or more syllables may optionally drop the *e* of the endings *-et* and *-est*: *timmerje* 'hammer' may be *(do) timmerest* and *(hy) timmeret* or *timmerst* and *timmert*.

NOTE: Class II is the unmarked verb class in Frisian. New verbs formed by conversion from non-verbs or by suffixation from other verbs normally belong to this class. Thus the verb derived from a noun like *kompjûter* 'computer' would be *kompjûterje* in Frisian. Verbal derivations with the diminutive/iterative suffix *-k* are invariably class II verbs, even when the base verb belongs to class I (cf. *drafkje* 'trot somewhat' from *drave* 'trot').

4.2.3. Strong verbs

The defining characteristic of strong verbs is that they form the preterite and the past participle by a change in the vowel of the stem, rather than by the addition of a suffix. At one time the vowel changes, or *ablaut* as it is sometimes called, were quite well defined on the basis of seven categories. In today's language, however, the system has become so muddled - this holds true for some other Germanic languages as well - that strong verbs must essentially be considered irregular, although a few patterns may still be discerned.

The stem for the preterite and the past participle is thus not predictable by rule for the strong verbs. Given the principal parts, though, the various tenses can be built by adding the appropriate suffixes. The present and preterite conjugations are illustrated below with *nimme* 'take' and *ite* 'eat'. Notice that the personal endings are identical to those of the class I verbs, so that strong verbs are distinguished from class I verbs solely by the irregular formation of the principal parts:

Present:

inf.	*nimme* 'to take'	*ite* 'to eat'	*-e*
1sg.	*ik nim* 'I take'	*ik yt* 'I eat'	*-∅*
2sg. fam.	*do nimst* 'you take'	*do ytst* 'you eat'	*-st*
2sg. pol.	*jo nimme* 'you take'	*jo ite* 'you eat'	*-e*
3sg.	*hy nimt* 'he takes'	*hja yt* 'she eats'	*-t*
1pl.	*wy nimme* 'we take'	*wy ite* 'we eat'	*-e*
2pl.	*jimme nimme* 'you take'	*jimme ite* 'you eat'	*-e*
3pl.	*hja nimme* 'they take'	*hja ite* 'they eat'	*-e*

Preterite:

1sg.	*ik naam* 'I took'	*ik iet* 'I ate'	*-∅*
2sg. fam.	*do naamst* 'you took'	*do ietst* 'you ate'	*-st*
2sg. pol.	*jo namen* 'you took'	*jo ieten* 'you ate'	*-en*
3sg.	*hja naam* 'she took'	*hy iet* 'he ate'	*-∅*
1pl.	*wy namen* 'we took'	*wy ieten* 'we ate'	*-en*
2pl.	*jimme namen* 'you took'	*jimme ieten* 'you ate'	*-en*
3pl.	*hja namen* 'they took'	*hja ieten* 'they ate'	*-en*

Present Participle:

nimmend(e) 'taking'	*itend(e)* 'eating'	*-end(e)*

Past Participle:

nommen 'taken' *iten* 'eaten' *-en*

Imperative:

nim 'take' *yt* 'eat' *-⌀*

In these paradigms the alternations between, for example, *a* and *aa* and *i* and *y* are purely orthographic, and in no way affect the pronunciation; of course, the *ie* of *iet* is definitely a different vowel sound from that of the present. Notice further that when a *-t* is added to stems ending in *t*, only a single *t* is written or pronounced.

If the strong preterite is compared to the class I past tense with a *-de* suffix, it can be seen that the endings of the strong verbs and class I verbs are identical. They differ solely in the formation of the preterite and of the past participle stems (which, of course, is the defining characteristic of strong verbs).

Given the preterite and the past participle stem, the relevant forms of most of the strong verbs can be formed on the above model. The principal parts of all irregular verbs are listed in section 4.2.5.

Although the strong verbs are essentially nothing more than irregular verbs in today's language, there are still certain patterns in the formation of the principal parts. These do not entirely correspond to the old Germanic classes of strong verbs, but might instead be referred to as *rime groups*. The most important such rime groups are listed below, in the order *present tense - preterite - past participle:*

(1) These are mainly verb stems ending in *-ing, -ink, -im(C),* and *-elC*. The rime pattern is *i/e-o-o*.
Examples: *drinke, dronk, dronken* 'drink'
melke, molk, molken 'milk'
Also: *blinke, glimme, helpe, hingje, klinke, krimpe, kringe, minge.*

(2) Most verbs in this class have stems ending in *-it* or *-id*. The rime pattern is *i-ie-i*.
Example: *bite, biet, biten* 'bite'
Also: *ferslite, ferwite, glide, ite, litte, ride, sitte.*

(3) The stems in this class generally end in *-in* (or *-inn*). The rime pattern is *-in, -ûn, -ûn*.
Examples: *bine, bûn, bûn* 'bind'
rinne, rûn, rûn 'walk'
Also: *fine, ferdwine, spinne, winne.*

(4) These verbs have stems that end in *-iuw*. The rime pattern is *-iuw, -eau, -eaun*.
Example: *driuwe, dreau, dreaun* 'drift, drive'
Also: *bliuwe, priuwe, riuwe, skriuwe, triuwe.*

(5) These verbs contain the cluster *er* before a stem-final consonant. The rime pattern is *e, u, u*.
Example: *merke, murk, murken* 'notice'
Also: *bergje, werpe.*

(6) The final class of verbs has stems that end in *ek*. The rime is *-ek, -iek, -utsen*. Notice that the stem-final *k* of these verbs becomes *ts* in the past participle.
Example: *sprekke, spriek, sprutsen* 'speak'
Also: *berekke, brekke, dekke, stekke, ûntdekke, trekke.*

NOTE: The principal parts of strong or irregular verbs are, not surprisingly, subject to a great deal of dialectal and idiolectal variation. What is interesting is that when such changes take place with verbs which belong to rime groups, more often than not the entire rime group changes. *Sprekke*, for example, has the principal parts *sprekke-spruts-sprutsen* for many Frisians. But the speaker who has the pret. *spruts* will probably also have similarly-formed preterites for the remaining words in this rime group; e.g., *bruts* (from *brekke*) and *stuts* (from *stekke*), etc. The importance of rime in this aspect of the language is thus quite clear.

Putting aside traditional classifications of the verb system, there are really only two classes of verbs in Frisian, based on the personal endings in the present tense: class I, which includes what are traditionally called class I weak verbs and the strong verbs, and class II. The former are verbs which end in *-e* in the infinitive and the latter end in *-je*. Both of these classes can have regular verbs which go according to the patterns listed in the previous sections, or they may be irregular. Thus *hingje-hong-hongen* 'hang' and *bergje-burch-burgen* 'hide' are examples of irregular verbs which take class II personal endings but in other ways act like what are traditionally called strong verbs. This two-way division seems to make much more sense in terms of how the language really works.

The strong verbs traditionally have an *-en* suffix in the past participle. Often the *-en* is no longer transparent in today's language: *bûn* 'bound'; *sjoen* 'seen'; *dien* 'done'. Because the ending is not transparent anymore, many speakers add a *-d* (phonetically the marker of the past participle in class I verbs) to forms of this nature: *bûnd, sjoend, diend*, etc. This is especially common in certain areas to the west of the province.

4.2.4. Tense formation

Aside from the present and preterite (or simple past), which were discussed in the previous sections, all the tenses, both active and passive, are formed by the use of the auxiliary verbs *wêze, hawwe, wurde*, and *sille*. The charts in the subsections which follow outline how these various complex tenses are composed on the example of the verbs *meane* (class I) 'mow' and *sjen-seach-sjoen* 'see'. Full paradigms will not be listed since the forms for the second person singular polite and the plural forms are always identical. Because Frisian no longer has a true subjunctive, it will be left out of consideration.

4.2.4.1. Active verbs

(1) *The present*: composed of the verb stem plus personal endings; see sections 4.2.1, 4.2.2, and 4.2.3 for details.

1sg.	*ik mean*	I mow
2sg.	*do meanst*	you mow
3sg.	*hja/hy/it meant*	she/he/it mows
pl.	*wy (etc.) meane*	we (etc.) mow

(2) *Preterite:* formed by adding the preterite personal endings to the preterite stem. Consult sections 4.2.1, 4.2.2, and 4.2.3 for details.

1sg.	*ik meande*	I mowed
2sg.	*do meandest*	you mowed
3sg.	*hy meande*	he mowed
pl.	*wy meanden*	we mowed

(3) *Present perfect*: uses the helping verb *hawwe* plus the past participle.

1sg.	*ik ha meand*	I have mowed
2sg.	*do hast meand*	you have mowed
3sg.	*hy hat meand*	he has mowed
pl.	*wy hawwe meand*	we have mowed

(4) *Past perfect*: composed of the preterite of *hawwe* plus the past participle.

1sg.	*ik hie meand*	I had mowed
2sg.	*do hiest meand*	you had mowed
3sg.	*hy hie meand*	he had mowed
pl.	*wy hiene(n) meand*	we had mowed

(5) *Future:* formed by the auxiliary verb *sille* followed by the infinitive:

1sg.	*ik sil meane*	I will mow
2sg.	*do silst meane*	you will mow
3sg.	*hy sil meane*	he will mow
pl.	*wy sille meane*	we will mow

(6) *Future perfect*: based on the conjugated verb *sille* plus the past participle of the verb and the helping verb *hawwe.*

1sg.	*ik sil meand hawwe*	I will have mowed
2sg.	*do silst meand hawwe*	you will have mowed
3sg.	*hy sil meand hawwe*	he will have mowed
pl.	*wy sille meand hawwe*	we will have mowed

(7) *Conditional*: made up of the past tense of *sille* plus the infinitive.

1sg.	*ik soe meane*	I would mow
2sg.	*do soest meane*	you would mow

3sg.	*hy soe meane*	he would mow
pl.	*wy soene(n) meane*	we would mow

(8) *Perfect conditional*: constructed with the preterite of *sille* plus the past participle of the verb and then *hawwe.*

1sg.	*ik soe meand hawwe*	I would have mowed
2sg.	*do soest meand hawwe*	you would have mowed
3sg.	*hy soe meand hawwe*	he would have mowed
pl.	*wy soene(n) meand hawwe*	we would have mowed

4.2.4.2. The passive

The passive is formed with the help of the auxiliary verbs *wêze* and *wurde*. It should be remarked that the passive is less often used than it is in English; very often impersonal constructions with *se*, *immen,* or *ien* are preferred. The passive forms of the verb *sjen* are listed below. Once again, the plural forms are the same as the polite second person singular (*jo*), so the latter is not separately listed.

(1) *Present passive*: formed with the pertinent form of *wurde* followed by the past participle of the verb.

1sg.	*ik wurd sjoen*	I am seen
2pl.	*do wurdst sjoen*	you are seen
3sg.	*hy wurdt sjoen*	he is seen
pl.	*wy wurde sjoen*	we are seen

(2) *Preterite passive*: composed of the preterite of *wurde* and the past participle of the verb.

1sg.	*ik waard sjoen*	I was seen
2sg.	*do waardst sjoen*	you were seen
3sg.	*hy waard sjoen*	he was seen
pl.	*wy waarden sjoen*	we were seen

(3) *Present perfect passive*: formed by the present tense of the verb *wêze* followed by the past participle, then optionally *wurden.*

1sg.	*ik bin sjoen (wurden)*	I have been seen
2sg.	*do bist sjoen (wurden)*	you have been seen
3sg.	*hy is sjoen (wurden)*	he has been seen
pl.	*wy binne sjoen (wurden)*	we have been seen

(4) *Past perfect passive*: the preterite of *wêze* followed by the past participle and optionally by *wurden.*

1sg.	*ik wie sjoen (wurden)*	I had been seen
2sg.	*do wiest sjoen (wurden)*	you had been seen

3sg.	*hy wie sjoen (wurden)*	he had been seen
pl.	*wy wiene(n) sjoen (wurden)*	we had been seen

(5) *Future passive*: the conjugated form of *sille*, followed by the past participle of the verb and *wurde*.

1sg.	*ik sil sjoen wurde*	I will be seen
2sg.	*do silst sjoen wurde*	you will be seen
3sg.	*hy sil sjoen wurde*	he will be seen
pl.	*wy sille sjoen wurde*	we will be seen

(6) *Future perfect passive*: the conjugated form of *sille*, followed by the past participle of the verb, optionally *wurden*, and then *wêze*.

1sg.	*ik sil sjoen (wurden) wêze*	I will have been seen
2sg.	*do silst sjoen (wurden) wêze*	you will have been seen
3sg.	*hy sil sjoen (wurden) wêze*	he will have been seen
pl.	*wy sille sjoen (wurden) wêze*	we will have been seen

(7) *Conditional passive*: the preterite of *sille*, after which come the past participle of the verb and *wurde*.

1sg.	*ik soe sjoen wurde*	I would be seen
2sg.	*do soest sjoen wurde*	you would be seen
3sg.	*hy soe sjoen wurde*	he would be seen
pl.	*wy soene(n) sjoen wurde*	we would be seen

(8) *Perfect conditional passive*: composed of the preterite of *sille*, followed by the past participle of the verb, optionally *wurden* and then *wêze*.

1sg.	*ik soe sjoen (wurden) wêze*	I would have been seen
2sg.	*do soest sjoen (wurden) wêze*	you would have been seen
3sg.	*hy soe sjoen (wurden) wêze*	he would have been seen
pl.	*wy soene(n) sjoen (wurden) wêze*	we would have been seen

NOTE: The word *wurden*, when in parentheses in the above chart, is most common in the northeast of Friesland, where it may be used to express perfective aspect (cf. Hoekema 1963). Elsewhere it is usually left out.

4.2.4.3. *Verbs as nouns*

One way of turning a verb into a noun is to create a gerund. The gerund is formed by the addition of *-n* to the infinitive of the verb. Gerunds are always neuter:

fiskjen is moai wurk 'fishing is nice work'
it skriuwen fan it boek hat lang duorre 'the writing of the book took a long time'

Not all nouns derived from verbs are gerunds. Some verb stems function as nouns with no overt morphological markers, as does *wurk* 'work'. In other cases there may be prefixes or suffixes added to indicate that a verb has become a noun. Very common is the prefixation of *ge-* to a verb stem to create a noun, often with the connotation that an action is protracted or habitual:

brûke 'to use'	*gebrûk* 'use, custom'
kleie 'to complain'	*geklei* 'complaints, complaining'
eamelje 'to mutter'	*geëamel* 'muttering, chattering'

NOTE: A full survey of verb nominalizations in Frisian can be found in Hoekstra (1998).

4.2.4.4. *Use of the tenses*

Some of the tenses in Frisian are used in different ways from their English counterparts, and thus require some comment here. Any Frisian verb tense, first of all, may also be translated as a progressive in English (in the appropriate context, of course): *ik mean* may mean either 'I mow' (which in English implies that it is a repeated or habitual act) or 'I am mowing' (i.e., something being done right now). In order to emphasize in Frisian that the action is in progress, it is necessary to say *ik bin oan 't meanen* 'I am mowing (now)'. This can also be utilized in the other tenses: *ik wie oan 't iten* 'I was eating (then)', etc.

The present tense is used not only for the present *per se*, but also for the future when an adverbial expression of future time is present in the sentence:

wy geane moarn nei de film	'we'll go to the movie tomorrow'
se fljocht nije wike nei Ingelân	'she'll fly to England next week'

The preterite is used mainly to narrate events which have occurred in the past: *ik ried nei hûs ta en seach ús heit oan't wurk* 'I drove home and saw father at work'. Often the present perfect is used to relate isolated incidents in the past: *ik ha dy man ferline wike sjoen* 'I saw that man last week'; *hawwe jimme juster yn Ljouwert west*? 'were you in Ljouwert yesterday?'

Because the future is often expressed through the present tense, the true future with *sille* takes on a more emphatic connotation: compare *ik gean fan 'e middei de stêd yn* 'I'm going into town this afternoon' with *ik sil fan 'e middei de stêd yn (gean)*, which is more emphatic.

The past perfect tense may be used in the same way that it is in English: *ik hie noch net sketten* 'I hadn't shot yet' or (with verbs which take the auxiliary *wêze*) *se wienen al fuortgongen* 'they had gone already'. Beyond this, the past perfect may express certain types of counterfactual statements: *Jelle hie soks noait dien* 'Jelle would never have done something like that' (essentially the same as the past conditional *Jelle soe soks noait dien hawwe*). Compare also *ik wie om twa oere thúskommen* 'I would have come home at two o'clock' or 'I had come home at two o'clock', the meaning depending on the context.

The above are similar to the counter-to-fact statements made with the preterite or preterite form of the auxiliary (see sec. 5.4.1), such as *wie hy mar thúskommen* 'if he had but come home' or *wie se mar op har keamer* 'if only she were in her

room'. Notice, however, that these latter constructions involve preterite verbs instead of just past perfects, that the verb is at the beginning of the sentence, and that the latter type of sentence always contains the adverb *mar*.

4.2.4.5. Verbs with the auxiliary wêze *in place of* hawwe

There are certain verbs that involve motion and change of state. These verbs typically form complex tenses with *wêze* 'be' instead of *hawwe* 'have'. This is true in Dutch and German also, as it was in older English (*I am come* for present *I have come*, and *he is risen* for modern *he has risen*). One difference with these other languages is that in Frisian, *wêze* itself usually takes *hawwe* as a helping verb: *ik hie west* 'I had been'.

Verbs which use *wêze* include *barre* 'happen', *begjinne* 'begin', *bliuwe* 'stay', *falle* 'fall', *farre* 'sail', *fleane* 'fly', *gean* 'go', *groeie* 'grow', *komme* 'come', *ophâlde* 'stop', *reizgje* 'travel', *ride* 'ride', *rinne* 'walk', *sakje* 'sink, be lowered', *sile* 'sail', *sinke* 'sink', *slagje* 'succeed', *springe* 'jump', *stjerre* 'die', *tsjen* 'trek', *ûntstean* 'originate', and *wurde* 'become'.

Some further examples:

ik bin flein	'I have flown'
ik wie kommen	'I had come'
ik sil fearn wêze	'I will have sailed'

These verbs must be intransitive; if used transitively, they take the auxiliary *hawwe*:

ik ha de fleanmasine flein	'I flew the airplane'

When the verbs do not indicate motion from one place to another, they also take *hawwe* as helping verb:

ik ha yn 'e fleanmasine flein	'I flew in the airplane'
wy hawwe hiel wat riden	'we drove (around) quite a bit'
se hienen de hiele dei fearn	'they sailed the whole day'.

4.2.4.6. Formation of the imperative

In almost all cases the imperative is identical to the form of the first person singular of the present tense. Compare *ik mean* 'I mow' with the imperative *mean* and *ik sykje* 'I seek' with the command *sykje*. This holds also for most irregular verbs: *ik sjoch* from *sjen* 'see' becomes *sjoch* in the imperative. One exception is the imperative *wês* from *wêze* 'be'. In addition, *harkje* 'listen' may have either *harkje* (more common) or *hark* in the command form.

NOTE: For the use of the imperative, see sec. 5.1.6.

4.2.5. Irregular verbs

There are a number of different types of verb irregularity in Frisian, the result of a diversity of historical processes which have died out but left their mark on the language. But since this is not intended to be a historical grammar, we may leave questions of origin aside for the moment. Basically there are two main kinds of irregularity in Frisian:

(1) Verbs irregular in both the present tense and in the principal parts.

(2) Verbs with irregular principal parts only.

All verbs which are irregular in the present tense also have irregular formation of preterite stem and past participle, but the converse is not necessarily valid.

4.2.5.1. Verbs irregular in the present tense

In the following list, the category *plural* (the *wy* form) includes the first, second, and third persons of the plural and the second person singular polite (the *jo* form). Alternate forms are given in parentheses. Sometimes a regular paradigm is listed, followed by irregular forms in parentheses. This means that most speakers use the regular forms, but that others (typically older or more conservative speakers) still use the irregular variants.

	Present	*Preterite/Past Participle*
bliede 'bleed'	ik blied	ik blette
	do bletst (bliedst)	wy bletten
	hy blet (bliedt)	ik ha blet
	wy bliede	
briede 'roast'	ik bried	ik brette
	do bretst (briedst)	wy bretten
	hy bret (briedt)	ik ha bret
	wy briede	
doare 'dare'	ik doar	ik doarst
	do doarst	wy doarsten
	hy doart (doar)	ik ha doarst
	wy doare	
doge 'be good'	ik dooch	ik doogde
	do doochst	wy doogden
	hy doocht (dooch)	ik ha doogd
	wy doge	
dwaan 'do'	ik doch	ik die
	do dochst	wy dienen (diene)

	hy docht wy dogge	ik ha dien
feie 'sweep'	ik fei do fagest (feist) hy faget (feit) wy feie	ik fage wy fagen ik ha fage
fleane 'fly'	ik fljoch (flean) do fljochst hy fljocht wy fljogge (fleane)	ik fleach wy fleagen ik bin flein
gean 'go'	ik gean do giest hy giet wy geane	ik gyng (gong) wy gyngen (gongen) ik bin gien (gongen)
hawwe 'have'	ik haw (ha) do hast hy hat wy hawwe (ha)	ik hie wy hienen (hiene) ik ha hân
jaan 'give'	ik jou do joust hy jout wy jouwe	ik joech wy joegen ik ha jûn
jeie 'chase'	ik jei do jagest (jeist) hy jaget (jeit) wy jeie	ik jage wy jagen ik ha jage
kinne 'can'	ik kin do kinst hy kin wy kinne	ik koe wy koenen (koene) ik ha kinnen (kind)
kleie 'complain'	ik klei do klagest (kleist) hy klaget (kleit) wy kleie	ik klage wy klagen ik ha klage
kôkje 'cook' (koaitsje)	ik kôkje (koaitsje) do kôkest hy kôket wy kôkje (koaitsje)	ik kôke wy kôken ik ha kôke

krije 'get'	ik krij do krigest (krijst) hy kriget (krijt) wy krije	ik krige (krych) wy krigen ik ha krige (krigen)
laitsje 'laugh'	ik laitsje do lakest hy laket wy laitsje	ik lake wy laken ik ha lake
liede 'ring'	ik lied do letst (liedst) hy let (liedt) wy liede	ik lette wy letten ik ha let
lije 'suffer'	ik lij do lijst (litst) hy lijt (lit) wy lije	ik litte (lijde) wy litten (lijden) ik ha lit (lijd)
lizze 'lie, lay'	ik lis do leist hy leit wy lizze	ik lei wy leinen (leine) ik ha lein
loegje 'pile' (loeie)	ik loegje (loei) do loegest hy loeget wy loegje (loeie)	ik loege wy loegen ik ha loege
meie 'may'	ik mei do meist hy mei wy meie	ik mocht wy mochten ik ha mocht (meien)
meitsje 'make'	ik meitsje do makkest hy makket wy meitsje	ik makke wy makken ik ha makke
moatte 'must'	ik moat do moatst hy moat wy moatte	ik moast wy moasten ik ha moatten
moetsje 'meet'	ik moetsje do moetest (metst)	ik moete (mette) wy moeten (metten)

	hy moetet (met)	ik ha moete (met)
	wy moetsje	
ploegje 'plow'	ik ploegje (ploei)	ik ploege
(ploeie)	do ploegest	wy ploegen
	hy ploeget	ik ha ploege
	wy ploegje (ploeie)	
rêde 'save'	ik rêd	ik rêde (rette)
	do rêdst (retst)	wy rêden (retten)
	hy rêdt (ret)	ik ha rêden (ret)
	wy rêde	
reitsje 'reach'	ik reitsje	ik rekke
	do rekkest	wy rekken
	hy rekket	ik ha rekke
	wy reitsje	
riede 'guess'	ik ried	ik rette
	do retst (riedst)	wy retten
	hy ret (riedt)	ik ha ret
	wy riede	
sille 'shall'	ik sil	ik soe
	do silst	wy soenen (soene)
	hy sil	ik ha sillen (sild)
	wy sille	
sizze 'say'	ik sis	ik sei
	do seist	wy seinen (seine)
	hy seit	ik ha sein
	wy sizze	
sjen 'see'	ik sjoch	ik seach
	do sjochst	wy seagen
	hy sjocht	ik ha sjoen
	wy sjogge	
slaan 'hit'	ik slach (slaan)	ik sloech
	do slachst	wy sloegen
	hy slacht	ik ha slein
	wy slagge (slane)	
sliepe 'sleep'	ik sliep	ik sliepte (slepte)
	do sliepst (slepst)	wy sliepten (slepten)
	hy sliept (slept)	ik ha sliept (slept)
	wy sliepe	(NOTE: see sec. 2.1.2.6)

smeitsje 'taste'	ik smeitsje	ik smakke
	do smakkest	wy smakken
	hy smakket	ik ha smakke
	wy smeitsje	
stean 'stand'	ik stean	ik stie
	do stiest	wy stienen (stiene)
	hy stiet	ik ha stien
	wy steane	
tôgje 'carry'	ik tôgje (toai)	ik tôge
(toaie)	do tôgest	wy tôgen
	hy tôget	ik ha tôge
	wy tôgje (toaie)	
tsjen 'trek'	ik tsjoch	ik teach
	do tsjochst	wy teagen
	hy tsjocht	ik bin tein
	wy tsjogge	
weitsje 'watch'	ik weitsje (wekje)	ik wekke
(wekje)	do wekkest	wy wekken
	hy wekket	ik ha wekke
	wy weitsje (wekje)	
wêze 'be'	ik bin	ik wie
	do bist	wy wienen (wiene)
	hy is	ik ha west
	wy binne	(imperative: wês)
wolle 'want to'	ik wol	ik woe
	do wolst	wy woenen (woene)
	hy wol	ik ha wold (wollen)
	wy wolle	
wurde 'become'	ik wurd	ik waard
	do wurdst	wy waarden
	hy wurdt	ik bin wurden
	wy wurde	

4.2.5.2. *List of irregular verbs*

All the verbs in this list have irregular (or strong) principal parts. Alternate possibilities are placed after the preferred form in parentheses. When two forms are essentially equally common, I have usually tried to separate them by a slash, as are *hite/hjitte* 'be called'. Since the standard is rather flexible in Frisian, and since many dialectal forms are tolerated, the choice of which variant is the primary one is sometimes a bit arbitrary. Generally I have opted for the verb form

which occurs most often in the written language or which has the widest geographical spread. Not all of the great variety of alternative dialectal forms has been included - my purpose has been to list those which are most likely to be encountered in the literature, rather than to provide an exhaustive listing. An asterisk following the verb means that it is irregular in the present tense also and that the reader should also consult section 4.2.5.1.

Infinitive	*Gloss*	*Preterite*	*Past Participle*
bedjerre	spoil	bedoar	bedoarn
bedrage	deceive	bedroech/bedreach	bedragen
befinge	seize	befong	befongen
begjinne	begin	begûn	begûn
begripe	understand	begriep	begrepen
belide	confess	belied	beliden
bergje	put away	burch	burgen
bidde	pray	bidde/bea	bidden/bean
biede	offer	bea	bean
bine	tie	bûn	bûn
bite	bite	biet	biten
bliede*	bleed	blette	blet
blike	appear	bliek	blykt
blinke	glimmer	blonk	blonken
bliuwe	stay	bleau (bliuwde)	bleaun
brekke	break	briek (bruts)	brutsen
briede*	roast	brette	bret
bringe	bring	brocht	brocht
dekke	cover	diek (duts)	dutsen
doare*	dare	doarst	doarst
doge*	be good for	doogde	doogd
drage	carry	droech	droegen
drinke	drink	dronk	dronken
driuwe	drift	dreau (driuwde)	dreaun
dûke	duck, dive	doek (dûkte)	dûkt
dwaan*	do	die	dien
erve	inherit	urf (erfde)	urven (erfd)
falle	fall	foel	fallen
fange	catch	fong	fongen
farre (fare)	sail	foer (fear)	fearn
feie*	sweep	fage	fage
ferdjerre	ruin	ferdoar	ferdoarn
ferdwine	disappear	ferdwûn	ferdwûn
fergripe	assault	fergriep	fergrepen
ferjitte	forget	fergeat	fergetten (ferjitten)
ferlieze	lose	ferlear	ferlern
fernimme	notice	fernaam	fernommen (fernomd)

ferwite	reproach	ferwiet	ferwiten
fine	find	fûn	fûn
fjochtsje	fight	focht	fochten
fleane*	fly	fleach	flein
frette	eat, devour	friet	fretten
frieze	freeze	frear	ferzen
gean*	go	gyng (gong)	gien (gongen)
geneze/genêze	heal	genies	genezen/genêzen
glide	glide	glied	gliden
glimme	glimmer	glom	glommen
glûpe	sneak	gloep (glûpte)	glûpt
grave	dig	groef	groeven
gripe	grasp	grypte (griep)	grypt (grepen)
hâlde	hold	hold/hâlde	holden/hâlden
hawwe*	have	hie	hân
helpe	help	holp	holpen
hingje	hang	hong	hongen
hjitte	be named	hiet/hjitte	hjitten/hiten
ite	eat	iet	iten
jaan*	give	joech	jûn
jeie*	chase	jage	jage
jilde	be valid	jilde (gou)	jilden (gouwen)
jitte	pour	geat	getten (jitten)
keapje	buy	kocht (koft)	kocht (koft)
kerve	carve	kurf (kerfde)	kurven (kerfd)
kieze	choose	keas	keazen
kinne*	be able to	koe (pl. koene(n))	kinnen (kind)
kleie*	complain	klage	klage
klimme	climb	klom	klommen
klinke	sound	klonk	klonken
kliuwe	climb	kleau	kleaun
knipe	squeeze	knypte (kniep)	knypt
kôkje* (koaitsje)	cook	kôke	kôke
komme	come	kaam	kommen (komd)
krije*	get	krige (krych)	krige (krigen)
krimpe	shrink	kromp	krompen
kringe	crowd	krong	krongen
krinke	hurt	kronk	kronken
krite	cry out	kriet	kriten
laitsje*	laugh	lake	lake
lêze	read	lies	lêzen
liede*	ring	lette	let
liede	lead	late (liede)	laat (lieden)
lije*	suffer	litte (lijde)	lit (lijd)
litte	let	liet	litten
lizze*	lie, lay	lei	lein
loegje (loeije)	pile	loege	loege

lûke	pull	loek (luts)	lutsen
lykje	look like	like (liek)	like
meie*	may	mocht	mocht (meien)
meitsje*	make	makke	makke
melke	milk	molk	molken
merke	notice	murk	murken
minge	mix	mong	mongen
mjitte	measure	meat	metten
moatte*	must	moast	moatten
moetsje*	meet	moete (mette)	moete (met)
nimme	take	naam	nommen (nomd)
pliigje	practice	plichte	--
ploegje*	plow	ploege	ploege
priuwe	taste	preau (priuwde)	preaun
rêde*	save	rêde (rette)	rêden (ret)
reitsje*	reach	rekke	rekke
rekke	stretch	riek (ruts)	rutsen
ride	ride	ried	riden
riede*	guess	rette	ret
riere	stir	rierde (rette)	rierden (ret)
rinne	walk	rûn	rûn
riuwe	lace, string	reau (riuwde)	reaun
roppe	shout, call	rôp	roppen
rûke	smell	roek (rûkte)	rûkt
siede	cook	sea (sear)	sean
sille*	shall, will	soe (pl. soene(n))	sillen/sild
sinke	sink	sonk	sonken
sitte	sit	siet	sitten
sizze*	say	sei (pl. seine(n))	sein
sjen*	see	seach	sjoen
sjitte	shoot	skeat	sketten
sjonge	sing	song	songen
skelde (skelle)	scold	skold (skelde)	skolden (skeld)
skeppe	create	skoep	skepen
skiede	separate	skate (skiede)	skaat (skieden)
skinke	give, pour	skonk	skonken
skite	shit	skiet	skiten
skowe	shove	skode (skau)	skood
skrikke	be shocked	skrok	skrokken
skriuwe	write	skreau (skriuwde)	skreaun
slaan*	hit	sloech	slein
sliepe*	sleep	sliepte (slepte)	sliept (slept)
slinke	shrink	slonk	slonken
slite	wear out	sliet	sliten
slûpe	sneak	sloep (slûpte)	slûpt
slute	close	sleat (slute)	sletten (sluten)
smeitsje*	taste	smakke	smakke

smelte	melt	smolt	smolten
smite	throw, cast	smiet	smiten
snije	cut	snie (snijde)	snien (snijd)
snute	blow one's nose	snute (snuet)	snuten
spije	spit	spijde (spei)	spijd (spein)
spinne	spin	spûn	spûn
spite	be sorry	spiet	spiten
splite	split	spliet	spliten
sprekke	speak	spriek (spruts)	sprutsen
spriede	spread	sprate (spriede)	spraat (sprieden)
springe	jump	sprong	sprongen
stappe	step	stapte (stoep)	stapt
stean*	stand	stie	stien
stekke	stick	stiek (stuts)	stutsen
stelle	steal	stiel	stellen
stjerre	die	stoar	stoarn
stjitte	bump	state (stjitte)	staat (stjitten)
stjonke	stink	stonk	stonken
stowe	swirl, fly	stode (stau)	stood
stride	strive	stried	striden
strike	iron	striek (struts)	strutsen
strûpe	fleece, peel	strûpte (stroep)	strûpt
sûpe	guzzle	sûpte (soep)	sûpt
swimme	swim	swom	swommen
swerve	wander	swurf	swurven
swije	be silent	swijde (swei)	swijd (swein)
swinge	swing, sway	swong	swongen
sykje	seek	socht	socht
tingje	bargain, haggle	tong	tongen
tinke	think	tocht	tocht
tôgje* (toaie)	carry	tôge	tôge
treffe	meet	trof	troffen
trekke	pull	triek (truts)	trutsen
triuwe	push	treau (triuwde)	treaun
tsjen*	go, proceed	teach	tein
twinge	force	twong	twongen
waakse	grow	woeks	woeksen
waskje	wash	wosk	wosken
weage	weigh	woech	woegen
weitsje* (wekje)	watch	wekke	wekke
werpe	cast	wurp	wurpen
werve	enlist	wurf	wurven
wêze*	be	wie (pl. wiene(n))	west
wine	wind	wûn	wûn
winke	motion	wonk	wonken
winne	win	wûn	wûn
wite	blame	wiet	witen

witte/wite	know	wist	witten/witen
wiuwe	wave	weau (wiuwde)	wiuwd
wolle*	want to	woe (pl. woene(n))	wollen (wold)
wreke	revenge	wriek (wreekte)	wrutsen (wreekt)
wringe	wring	wrong	wrongen
wriuwe	rub	wreau (wriuwde)	wreaun
wurde*	become	waard	wurden

NOTE: Those interested in a more traditional classification of the irregular verbs (based on the Old Germanic classes of verbs) should consult Fokkema (1967) or Sipma (1913). See also Eisma (1989) and Breuker (1989/1990). In the above list often only the base verb is included. To find, for example, *besykje* 'try', look under its base form *sykje* and extend those forms to create *besocht*, etc.

4.3. Quantifiers

4.3.1. General quantifiers

General quantifiers which can modify mass nouns in Frisian include *in bytsje* 'a bit'; *wat* 'some'; *in soad* 'a lot'; *in protte* 'a lot'; *in bulte* 'a bunch of'. Another such quantifier is *folle* 'much', but be aware that *folle* never stands alone before a noun - it must always be part of a larger expression, as in *te folle* 'too much' or *net folle* 'not much'. The word *min* also acts as a quantifier, but only in the expression *te min* 'too little; when standing alone it means 'bad': *te min iten* means 'too little food', whereas *min iten* is 'bad food'. Some examples of the other quantifiers:

in soad wetter	'a lot of water'
net folle tsiis	'not much cheese'
in protte hea	'a lot of hay'

With count nouns in the plural, *in soad, in protte, in bulte, te/net folle*, and *te min* may occur. In addition, *inkelde* 'a few'; *in pear* 'a few'; *beide* 'both'; *sommige* or *guon* 'some'; *ferskate* 'various', and some others are common:

inkel(d)e skiep	'a few sheep'
beide fuotten	'both legs'
ferskate bern	'various children'

Most of these quantifiers can be used substantively (as nouns) without change: *in pear woenen noch heger klimme* 'a few wanted to climb even higher'. *Sommige* and *inkel(d)e* assume an *-n* suffix when used in this sense: *ik seach mar inkelden* 'I only saw a few'. Besides *guon, guods* and *guodden* are encountered substantively for 'some': *guodden wienen dertsjin* 'some were against it'.

Note further that the mass noun quantifiers may function as sentential adverbs: *wy hawwe in soad kuiere* 'we walked a lot'; *se liket net folle op har mem* 'she doesn't look much like her mother'.

NOTE: Another common quantifier meaning 'some' is *in mannich* or *in stikmannich*. As a quantifying suffix *-mannich* may appear after nouns: *in deimannich* 'some days'; *in pûnmannich* 'some pounds'; *in gûnemannich* 'some guilders'. Historically, both *in stikmannich* and formations like *in deimannich* derive from the quantifying construction *in (noun) of (numeral/quantifier)*, which is also rather common in Frisian. Some examples are *in dei of trije* 'about three days'; *in boek of fiif* 'some five books'; *in jier of wat* 'some years'. On this construction and the suffix *-mannich*, see Hoekstra (1992).

4.3.2. Numerals

Numbers can be used in either a *cardinal* sense (one, two, three) or as *ordinals* (first, second, third). In the list below, both sets of numerals are given, with alternate forms in parentheses:

	Cardinal	*Ordinal*
1	*ien*	*earste (foarste)*
2	*twa*	*twadde (oarde)*
3	*trije*	*tredde (trêde)*
4	*fjouwer*	*fjirde*
5	*fiif*	*fyfte (fiifde)*
6	*seis*	*sechste, sechde (seisde)*
7	*sân*	*sande*
8	*acht*	*achtste*
9	*njoggen*	*njoggende*
10	*tsien*	*tsiende*
11	*alve (âlf)*	*alfte (âlfde)*
12	*tolve (tolf)*	*tolfte (tolfde)*
13	*trettjin*	*trettjinde (trettsjinde, etc.)*
14	*fjirtjin*	*fjirtjinde*
15	*fyftjin*	*fyftjinde*
16	*sechtjin*	*sechtjinde (sech(s)t(s)jinde)*
17	*santjin*	*santjinde*
18	*achttjin*	*achttjinde*
19	*njoggentjin*	*njoggentjinde*
20	*tweintich*	*tweintichste*
21	*ienentweintich*	*ienentweintichste*
22	*twaentweintich*	*twaentweintichste*
30	*tritich*	*tritichste*
40	*fjirtich*	*fjirtichste*
50	*fyftich*	*fyftichste*
60	*sechtich*	*sechtichste (sechstichste)*
70	*santich*	*santichste*
80	*tachtich*	*tachtichste*
90	*njoggentich*	*njoggentichste*
100	*hûndert*	*hûndertste*

322	*trije hûndert twaentweintich(ste)*	
1000	*tûzen*	*tûzenste*
1,000,000	*miljoen*	*miljoenste*

The cardinal numbers are never inflected, except that *ien* may be in the expression *de iene* 'this one' (in contrast to *de oare* 'that one, the other'). Ordinals are also not further inflected: *it fjirde hûs* 'the fourth house'; *in fjirde hûs* 'a fourth house'. When an ordinal stands alone (without article or following noun), the final *-e* drops, as in *se wie twad* 'she was second' or *Menno is tred* 'Menno is third'. The number *ien* undergoes breaking when it becomes part of a larger number: *ienentritich* is pronounced [jɪnn̩tritəx]. *Twa* [twa:] has the long vowel in isolation, which is shortened when it stands before another word: *twa fûgels* [twa fuɣ]s] 'two birds'.

Fractions are formed much as they are in English: *ien tredde* 'one third'; *twa tredde* 'two thirds'; *in fjirde (part)* 'a fourth'; etc. *Heal* 'half', which is inflected as an adjective, is often broken: *healwei* 'halfway' is [jɛlvai], [jɛlvi] or [jɛlvə]; *healbroer* 'half brother' is [jɛlbruər]. The number *oardel* (originally *oardeheal*) means 'one and a half', and remains uninflected. The same is true for the much less common *treddel* 'two and a half' and the higher compositions of this type.

Multiplicatives like *once* and *twice* are expressed by the cardinal number plus *kear*, which always remains singular: *ien kear* 'once'; *trije kear* 'three times'; etc. *Kear* may also occur with ordinals: *de tweintichste kear* 'the twentieth time'. Compounds like *twaris* 'two times' and *trijeris* 'three times' are more literary.

Numbers take an *-en* under specific conditions when in certain types of prepositional phrases. It is quite common in phrases of time: *ik kom foar trijen* 'I'll come before three o'clock'; *'t is tweintich foar fiven* 'it's twenty before five (o'clock)'; but: *wy ite om seis oere* 'we eat at six o'clock' (note that in the last example, *oere* is expressed). Numbers with *-en* are also encountered in phrases beginning with *mei*, as in *mei ús fjouweren* 'with a group of four, all four of us'.

Expressions with containers for measures are directly followed by the relevant substance, without a preposition: *trije glêzen bier* 'three glasses of beer'. When the word for the container is omitted, the name of the substance is never pluralized: *twa bier* 'two beers', not **twa bieren*.

4.4. Adverbs

Most adjectives can be used without change as adverbs in Frisian: *moai* 'pretty' is unaltered - *hja skildert moai* 'she paints nicely'; or *hy koe goed sjonge* 'he could sing well'.

There are words which are strictly adverbs, without an equivalent adjective. Often these are in the form of diminutive plurals, or they may have the suffix *-ling* or *-lik*: *súntsjes* 'softly'; *efkes* 'just, briefly'; *hoasfuotling* 'on stockinged feet'; *earsling* 'ass-backwards'; *ryklik* 'generously'.

A particularly interesting set of adverbs may be called *emotives*. They are words which express the emotions of the speaker regarding the validity, the importance, or the duration of a particular action. Some examples:

mar 'just, merely': *ik ha mar twa* 'I just have two'; *hy woe mar ite* 'he just wanted to eat'.

efkes 'a little while': *sille wy efkes sjoele*? 'shall we play *sjoel* a while?'; *wachtsje efkes* 'wait a bit'.

ris [rəs] or [əs] 'once, a while, a bit': *sjoch ris wat er dien hat* 'just look at what he did'; *der wie ris in âld man* 'there was once on old man'.

When an adjective acts as an adverb in modifying another adjective or adverb, it may take an *-e* ending:

it wie ferskriklike kâld	'it was terribly cold'
se hat ôfgryslike hurd wurke	'she worked terribly hard'
it wie in hiele lange winter	'it was a very long winter'

Not all adverbs take this *-e* suffix; it appears to be restricted mainly to those which serve an intensifying function. Compare the following, in which the adverb does not intensify: *dat lân is aardich grien* 'that land is rather green'; or *de strjitte is goed skjin* 'the street is quite clean'.

As do the adjectives, adverbs can have a comparative and superlative degree: *se skildert it moaiste fan allegear* 'she paints the nicest of all'; *hoefolle langer bliuwe jimme hjirre*? 'how much longer will you stay here?'

4.5. Prepositions

Prepositions are usually followed by a noun to form a prepositional phrase: *mei it keal* 'with the calf'; *yn 'e wein* 'in the wagon'. When a pronoun follows, it must be in the objective form: *mei har* 'with her'; *oan harren* 'to them'.

When a preposition has as its object *dit* 'this' or *dat* 'that' used as a noun, it takes the form of *hjir-* or *dêr-* directly followed by the preposition, as in older English *herewith* and *therewith*. When *der-* is utilized in place of *dêr-*, it has more the sense of 'it' instead of 'that':

hjirmei	'with this'
dêrmei	'with that'
dermei	'with it'
dêrnjonken	'next to that'
hjirút	'out of this'
dêrop	'on that'
derút	'out of it'

Questions can be made in a similar manner with the use of *wêr* (as in *wherewith*):

wêrom	'for what (reason)'
wêrút	'out of what'
wêrmei	'with what'
wêrnjonken	'next to what'

Note that the prepositions *behalven*, *fanwegen*, *te*, and *sûnt* do not form compounds in this manner: *behalven dat* 'except for that' instead of **dêrbehalven*. Yet *te* and *sûnt* do not take *dit* or *dat* as an object.

Prepositions often have a wide variety of meanings which are difficult to categorize. Below is a list of the most important Frisian prepositions with some illustrations of how they are used:

achter (or *efter*) 'behind': *se siet achter my* 'she sat behind me'.
behalven 'except': *ik ken elkenien behalven dat famke* 'I know everyone except for that girl'.
by 'near, close to, by': *Goutum leit by Ljouwert* 'Goutum lies near Ljouwert'; *ik bliuw by dy* 'I will stay close to you'.
binnen 'within': *komsto binnen in oere werom*? 'will you come back within an hour?'.
boppe 'above': *Martsen wennet boppe him* 'Martsen lives above him'.
fan 'from, of, by': *it horloazje fan ús heit* 'the watch of (our) father'; *it komt fan Sjina* 'it comes from China'; *dat boek is fan Halbertsma skreaun* 'that book was written by Halbertsma'; *ik sei fan nee* 'I said no'.
fanwegen 'because of': *fanwegen it minne waar binne wy net gien* 'because of the bad weather we didn't go'.
foar 'for, in front of, before': *hy die it foar syn suske* 'he did it for his little sister'; *Jelle stie foar my* 'Jelle stood in front of me'; *hja sil foar tsienen komme* 'she will come before ten (o'clock)'.
yn 'in, into': *Beppe wennet yn Snits* 'Grandmother lives in Snits'.
mei 'with': *de hin mei har pykjes* 'the hen with her chicks'; *se binne hjir mei har trijen* 'all three of them are here'.
neffens 'according to': *neffens it waarberjocht sil it jûn reine* 'according to the weather report it will rain tonight'.
nei 'to, after': *de trein nei Frjentsjer* 'the train to Frjentsjer'; *nei de brulloft sille wy thús komme* 'after the wedding we'll come home'.
nêst (also *neist*) 'next to': *de pleats nêst uzes* 'the farm next to ours'.
njonken 'next to': *set de bank njonken dy stoel* 'put the bench next to that chair'.
oan...ta or *oant* 'until': *oan nije wike ta* 'until next week'; *oant sjen* 'see you later' (lit.: 'until seeing').
oer 'over, about': *oer de brêge* 'over the bridge'; *hy prate oer syn bernetiid* 'he talked about his childhood'. With expressions of time, it means 'in, within': *oer in oere* 'in an hour'.
om 'around': *it hynder rûn om de peal hinne* 'the horse walked around the pole'.
op 'on, on top of': *op it dak* 'on the roof'; *op it hiem* 'on the yard'.
sûnder (or *sonder*) 'without': *sûnder wetter* 'without water'.
sûnt 'since': *sûnt njoggentjin hûndert twaenfyftich* 'since 1952'.
te 'in, at': *berne te Easterein* 'born in Easterein'.
troch 'through, by means of': *troch it fjild* 'through the field'; *Hirosjima is troch in atoombom ferneatige* 'Hiroshima was destroyed by an atomic bomb'.

tusken 'between': *tusken Grou en Jirnsum* 'between Grou and Jirnsum'.

Many prepositions co-occur with an adverb or other preposition directly following the noun phrase. Some examples:

om** de mar **hinne	'around the lake'
nei** de stêd **ta	'to the city'
by** de trep **del	'down the stairs'
by** de trep **op	'up the stairs'
by** de sleat **lâns	'along the ditch'
ta** it rút **út	'out the window'
foar** de skoalle **oer	'in front of the school'

These may also have the form *wêromhinne* 'around what' or *derbydel* 'down that', etc.

Bûten, *binnen*, *boppe*, and *ûnder* can also function as adverbs: *ik bin boppe* 'I'm upstairs', etc. When they follow the prepositions *fan* or *nei*, an *-en* is appended to *boppe* and *ûnder*: *nei ûnderen* '(to) downstairs'; *fan boppen* 'from upstairs, from above'.

4.6. Question Words

The question words in Frisian include *wat*, *wa*, *hok* and its related forms, and *hoe*, *wannear*, and *wêr*.

Wat [vɔt] 'what' (formerly spelled *hwat*) is used, as is Eng. *what*, for asking about things: *wat hasto hjoed dien?* 'what did you do today?'; *wat wie dat?* 'what was that?' *Wat* may also act as an adjective in the sense of 'what, which': *wat man is dat*? 'what man is that?'; *wat iten ha jo yn 'e hûs?* 'what food do you have in the house?' In the combination *wat foar* it means 'what kind of': *wat foar iten* 'what kind of food'; *wat foar sipels* 'what kind of onions'. The indefinite article *in* may optionally be inserted in this type of construction: *wat foar in man* or *wat foar in hûs*, without change in meaning. Of course, *wat foar in* (with the article present) cannot precede mass nouns like *iten* 'food', since *in* may only co-occur with singular count nouns. When a preposition would be used in English with *what*, in the sense of *with what* or *from what*, the construction with *wêr-* is normally used: *wêrmei* 'with what' and *wêrfan* 'from what'. See further section 4.5. Note that one word formed on this basis, *wêrom*, is commonly used for 'why': *wêrom is alles sa wiet*? 'why is everything so wet?'

Wa [va:] 'who' (formerly spelled *hwa*) is the interrogative pronoun used to ask about people: *Wa binne jo?* 'who are you?'; *wa hast yn 'e stêd sjoen?* 'who did you see in town?' The possessive of *wa* may be *waans*: *waans ring is dat?* 'whose ring is that'. Much more frequent in the spoken language are *wa syn* and *wa har*, on analogy with possessives like *Durk syn hûn*: *wa syn hûn is dit?* 'whose dog is this?' *Wa har* is appropriate only in highly marked contexts where the possessor must be known to be one of a group of women, but even there *wa syn*

is the rule. *Wa* further may follow prepositions: *nêst wa hast do sitten?* 'next to whom did you sit'?

NOTE: In a large part of the province, [vi] is used in place of *wa*. It is never written, however, mainly because it is a Dutch loanword.

Hoe [hu] is very close to Eng. *how*. It may stand alone or may modify an adjective or adverb: *hoe hat er dat dien?* 'how did he do that?'; *hoefolle kij* 'how many cows'; *hoe djip is it hjir?* 'how deep is it here?'; *hoe âld binne jo?* 'how old are you?'

'When' is expressed by *wannear*, as in *wannear is it skûtsjesilen?* 'when is *skûtsjesilen* (sailboat racing)?' When enquiring about the time of day, *hoe let* is used: *hoe let komt Tseard hjir?* 'what time is Tseard coming here?'.

Wêr, which has the emphatic form *wêre* (just as *hjir* and *dêr* have emphatic forms *hjirre* and *dêre*), asks the question 'where': *Wêr wennet se?* 'where does she live?'; *wêr komme jo wei?* 'where do you come from?'. The use of *wêr-* with prepositions is discussed in section 4.5.

Hok, hokke, hokker, and *hoe'n* have the meaning 'which, what kind of'. *Hok* is utilized with mass neuter nouns: *hok iten* 'what kind of food'. When the noun is plural, *hokke* is chosen: *hokke minsken* 'which (what kind of) people'; *hokke spikers* 'which nails, what type of nails'. *Hokke* also precedes mass common nouns, like *hokke sjippe* 'what (kind of) soap'. Words of both genders as an alternative take *hokker*: *hokker man* 'which man' or *hokker froulju* 'which women'. *Hoe'n*, perhaps a bit more common in the spoken language, is a contraction of *hoe in*, and its domain is thus coextensive with *sa'n* (from *sa in*). It may occur before any singular count noun, but only in the meaning of 'what kind of', never 'which': *hoe'n kat* 'what kind of cat'; *hoe'n tsjil* 'what kind of wheel'.

All of the above may be used substantively: *hokker ha jo meinommen?* 'which did you take along?' *Hoe'n* is followed in this usage by *ien*: *hoe'n ien hast sjoen* 'what kind did you see?' In the spoken language one frequently hears *hoe'nen ien*.

4.7. Conjunctions

As the root of this word suggests, *conjunctions* join two parts of a sentence together. They fall into two categories: those which are *coordinating* (which conjoin or connect two equal sentences, each of which could stand independently), and *subordinating* conjunctions (which embed a clause which would not normally stand by itself into a larger, independent sentence). This definition has certain exceptions, which will be discussed in later sections. A discussion on conjunctions thus makes for a logical transition into syntax, the topic of the immediately following chapter, where this distinction is made more clear.

4.7.1. Coordinating conjunctions

Unlike subordinating conjunctions, those which coordinate do not usually affect the word order of the following sentence. The most important coordinating conjunctions are these:

dus 'thus, therefore, so': *ik wie let, dus ik moast efkes wachtsje* 'I was late, so I had to wait a while'; *dus jo binne Bangma* 'so you are (Mr.) Bangma'.
en 'and': *Klaas en ik* 'Klaas and I'; *Gerke iet in stik brea en ik dronk in glês molke* 'Gerke ate a piece of bread and I drank a glass of milk'.
mar 'but': *hy woe fuort, mar hy hie it te drok* 'he wanted to go away but he was too busy'; *mar wat dochst hjoed?* 'but what are you doing today?'
net allinne...mar ek 'not only...but also': *net allinne syn heit wie thús, mar ek syn mem* 'not only his father was home, but also his mother'.
noch 'nor': *ierapppels woe er net ite, noch beantsjes* 'he did not want to eat potatoes, nor beans'; or: *hy woe ierappels noch beantsjes ite*'.
of 'or': *jonge of famke* 'boy or girl'; *sille wy sile of mei de motorboat farre?* 'shall we sail or go in the motorboat?' Note also sentences of the type: *se sieten mar amper, of it stik wie dien* 'they had barely sat down, and (when) the piece was finished'.
of...of 'either...or': *of se is siik of se hat maleur mei de auto* 'either she's sick or she has car trouble'; *of Brechtsje of Jantsje* 'either Brechtsje or Jantsje'.
sawol...as 'both...and': *sawol Brechtsje as Jantsje moat foaryn sitte* 'both Brechtsje and Jantsje must sit in front'.
want 'because': *ik hâld op, want ik ha neat mear te dwaan* 'I'm stopping because I have nothing more to do'. This conjunction should not be confused with the subordinating conjunction *om't* or *omdat* 'because', which usually (but not always) requires subordinate clause word order.

4.7.2. Subordinating conjunctions

With certain interesting exceptions, subordinating conjunctions are followed by clauses with the finite verb (VI) at the end, instead of in second position as is usual in main clauses of declarative sentences. A further important characteristic of subordinating conjunctions is that they are usually followed by the "conjunction morpheme" *'t*, or sometimes by the full form *dat* or *oft* (variably spelled *at*). So *omdat* and *om't* are variants of one another, as are *neidat* and *nei't*. As a general principle, it is the conjunctions which are derived from prepositions that allow (but do not always require) the full form *dat*: *neidat, omdat*, etc. The others, like *no't, sa't, dy't, doe't*, and so forth, take exclusively the clitic *'t*. The conjunction morpheme *oft* is frequently found after subordinating conjunctions or words and phrases which function as such when the conjunction itself has no lexical *'t* or *dat* following it: *it famke, dy har broer oft dearekke wie* 'de girl, whose brother had died'; *do bist grutter as oft ik tocht* 'you are bigger than I thought'.

When a conjunction ends in a *t* already (e.g. *dat*), the conjunction morpheme *'t* is not normally added, although forms like *wat oft* are occasionally encountered.

Sometimes *(al)hoewol, om't, mits*, or *dat* precede clauses with main clause word order. In that case the conjunction morpheme is never expressed.

The following are the main subordinating conjunctions in Frisian:

as 'if, as if, as': *it wie krekt as soe se oerein gean* 'it was just as if she were going to stand up'; *hy die as hied er it net murken* 'he acted as if he hadn't noticed it'. In this usage, *as* is followed by independent word order (verbs *soe* and *hie* in second position in the clause). Notice that there is subject-verb inversion after *as*. It is also possible to have *as* followed by *oft* in this sense, in which case dependent clause word order is required: *it wie krekt as oft se oerein gean soe* (the verb *soe* is at the end). *As* is used like English in expressions of the kind *as skipper* 'as skipper'. Furthermore, *as* is utilized to express comparison (sec. 4.1.2.4). In colloquial language, one sometimes hears *as* as a coordinating conjunction in place of *of: wolle jo molke as net* 'do you want milk or not?' *As* is often used in the sense of 'if' in sentences like *as it net kin sa't it moat, dan moat it mar sa't it kin* 'if it can't be done as it must, then it must be done as well as it can'. This use of *as* is, at least in the spoken language, often replaced by *at*.

at 'if': *at* means 'if' in conditional sentences like *at ik thús west hie, wie dit noait bard* 'if I had been at home, this would never have happened'; *at Thea werom komt út Brabân, dan krijt se fan my in tút* 'if Thea comes back from Brabant, she'll get a kiss from me'. In this sense *as* is also possible; indeed, it may be preferred in formal styles. *At* may also sometimes be used instead of *oft* (see below).

NOTE: Until recently, the conjunction *at* was seldom written, *as* and *oft* being penned instead. Recently, however, *at* has been gaining increasing acceptance, especially for conditional *as*, although many conservative writers who say *at* still shun it in favor of *as* or *oft* in script. The problem has at least two dimensions. One is that many older Frisians write *oft* where they say *at* - both of these words are pronounced [ɔt]. The other is that *at* appears to be displacing *as* in certain types of sentences, although this trend is also resisted by many writers.

dat 'that, so that, so': when followed by independent word order, *dat* can generally be translated by 'so': *hy moast nei skoalle, dat hy helle de fyts út it hok* 'he had to go to school, so he got the bike out of the shed'; *dat, do bist Jildert* 'So you are Jildert'. As with coordinating conjunctions like *dus*, which is similar in meaning to this use of *dat*, the clitics *er* and *-sto* do not occur after *dat* when independent word order follows. With dependent word order, *dat* may mean 'so that': *se fytste hurd dat se net de lêste wêze soe* 'she cycled fast so that she wouldn't be the last one'. *Dat* is used in exclamatory sentences like *hyt dat it wie!* 'hot that it was!' or *sile dat se koe* 'sail that she could, how she could sail'. The use of *dat* as a complementizer is the topic of sec. 5.3.3.1 and its use as a relative pronoun is discussed in sec. 5.3.4.1.

dêr't 'where': *dat is in pleats dêr't gjin boer mear buorket* 'that is a farm where no farmer farms anymore'. See sec. 5.3.4.3.

dy't 'who': *de âlde fiskers dy't op 'e bank sitte* 'the old fishermen who sit on the bench'. Used as a relativizer with singular common nouns and all plurals (words which take *de* as definite article). See 5.3.4.1.

doe't [dut] 'when, at the time that': *doe't ik him oanseach, gong er werom* 'when I looked at him, he turned back'; *it wie in tiid doe't arbeiders it net sa bêst hiene* 'it was a time when workers did not have it so good'.

ear't 'before': *ear't it sa wurdt, soe ik der mar wat oan dwaan* 'before it gets that far, I would do something about it'.

foardat or *foar't* 'before': *foar't Mem thúskomt, moat Jitske de tafel klearmeitsje* 'before Mom comes home, you have to set the table, Jitske'.

hoewol't (optionally *(al)hoewol't)* 'although': *hoewol't ik har net sa bêst ken, sil ik har in kadootsje jaan* 'although I don't know her too well, I'll give her a small gift'; *hoewol't myn fyts stikken is* 'although my bicycle is broken'.

mei't 'because': *mei't ik der kaam, koe it feest oangean* 'because I arrived, the party could begin'; *mei't der net mear safolle studinten komme, binne de kolleezjes opholden* 'because not as many students come, the classes have stopped'.

mits 'on the condition that': *ik wol wol, mits dat er frij kriget* 'I'd like to do it, if he gets time off'; *ik kom aansten, mits it moat goed waar wêze* 'I am coming soon, but it must be good weather'. *Mits* may be followed by coordinating or subordinate word order.

nei't (neidat) 'after': *nei't Gjalt de skuorre ferve hat, kinne wy mei fakânsje gean* 'after Gjalt has painted the shed, we can go on vacation'.

no't 'now that': *no't ik in nije fyts ha* 'now that I have a new bicycle'.

oant 'until': *oant de besite hjir is* 'until the visitors are here'.

oft [ɔt] 'whether, if'. *Oft* functions as a complementizer with the meaning 'whether, if': *ik freegje my ôf oft soks wol goed giet* 'I wonder whether this is going to turn out all right'; *ik wit net oftsto wol talitten wurdst* 'I don't know whether you will be admitted'. Sometimes the spelling *at* occurs in writing, but in this usage *oft* is preferred. In certain types of exclamatory sentences, *oft* may also be found (although *dat* is possible as well): *lige oft/dat er koe!* 'how he could lie!'

om't (omdat) 'because' (occasionally with following main clause word order): *om't it snijd hie, gyng it net troch* 'because it had snowed, it did not take place'; *hy waard loslitten, om't hy hie it net dien* 'he was freed because he hadn't done it'.

sa't [sat] 'as': *sa'tst sjochste, wy binne net ryk* 'as you see, we are not rich' (*sa't* is followed in this example with the 2sg. fam. clitic *-st*); *sa't ik al lang sein ha* 'as I have long said'.

sadree't 'as soon as': *sadree't it tsjuster wurdt* 'as soon as it becomes dark'.

trochdat 'because, by means of the fact that': *trochdat er sa jong is, kin er it langer úthâlde as ik* 'because he is so young, he can stand it longer than I can'.

wat...wat 'the...the': *wat mear oft it keal friet, wat grouwer oft it waard* 'the more the calf ate, the fatter it became'; *wat âlder wat better* 'the older the better'.

wylst (sometimes written *wyls't*) 'while': *wylst ik yn 'e winkel wie, bleau de hûn bûten* 'while I was in the store, the dog remained outside'.

All the question words *hoe, wa, wannear, wêr*, and *wat* function as subordinating conjunctions as well; they all take *'t* if (unlike *wat*) they do not already terminate in *t*: *hoe't soks kin is my in riedsel* 'how such things are possible is a riddle to me'; *witte jo ek wa't hjoed net op skoalle wie?* 'do you happen to know who was not in school today?'; *lit my witte wannear't se wer yn Fryslân is* 'let me know when she is back in Friesland'; *sis my ris wêr't er wennet* 'tell me where he lives'; *moatst riede wat wy oaremoarn dwaan sille* 'guess what we're going to do the day after tomorrow'. *Oft* may optionally appear after all questions words instead of *'t*: *freegje him wat oft er drinke wol* 'ask him what he wants to drink'; *ik wit net, wa oft meigiet 'I don't know who will join us'*. In the same way, *oft* is usually inserted when the complement of an adjective comparative plus *as* is a subordinate clause: *jimme binne lytser as oft ik tocht hie* 'you're smaller than I had thought'. Additionally, the questioning adjectives *hok* and *wat (foar in)* with a following verb or noun may act as subordinating conjunctions: *it sil my benije, hokke minsken oft moarn komme* 'I wonder what (kind of) people will come tomorrow'; *ik freegje my ôf, hoe'n fûgel oft dat wêze koe* 'I wonder what kind of bird that could be'; *ik wit net, mei wat foar fleis oft er thúskomme sil* 'I don't know with what type of meat he'll come home'; *do witst net, hoe wurch oft ik bin* 'you have no idea how tired I am'; *ik frege my ôf, hoe hurd oft Anne fytse koe* 'I wondered how fast Anne could cycle'.

NOTE: See also Van Coetsem (1960), Van der Woude (1960), Reuland (1979:167-71) and van der Meer (1991). Popkema (1979) discusses the conjunctions *as, oft, of, at*, and *dat*, which are quite a bit more complex than suggested in this book. For a thoroughgoing discussion of the complementizer *dat* and related word order phenomena, see De Haan (1983).

5 SYNTAX

5.1. The simple sentence

Every Frisian sentence has, at least on some level, a subject and a verb. Sometimes the subject is understood, as in commands like *kom*! 'come!' And in actual speech elliptical utterances are, not surprisingly, quite common. In response to the the question *wannear komt er?* 'when is he coming?', one may simply say *moarn* 'tomorrow'. But although elliptical sentences may be more frequent in actual discourse than are full sentences, we will discuss only the latter in this work.

5.1.1. Basic sentence structure

The simplest sentence may have only a subject and a verb:

ik libje 'I live'
Piter sykhellet 'Peter breathes'

Copular verbs like *wêze* 'be' and *bliuwe* 'stay' may be followed by predicate adjectives (always without inflection) or predicate nominatives:

Andrys is in goede keatser 'Andrys is a good *keats* player'
it gers wie giel 'the grass was yellow'
ús heit bliuwt advokaat 'our father will remain a lawyer'

NOTE: When the predicate nominative lists an occupation, the indefinite article *in* does not normally appear: *Durk is boer* 'Durk is a farmer'. But when an adjective modifies the noun, an article is required: *Durk is in minne boer 'Durk is a bad farmer'*. Furthermore, when the predicate nominative does not as much list an occupation as it states an opinion of sorts (where the occupation is used figuratively), *in* is usually present: *Durk is in boer* 'Durk is a boor'.

Many verb phrases include not only the main verb, but auxiliary verbs like *wêze, sille, wurde*, etc. The verbs which are inflected for person and number are called finite verbs, referred to here as V1. The other verbs within the sentence occur in non-finite form (as infinitives and participles, for example), and are referred to here as V2. The basic rule in the declarative sentence is that the V1, of which each simple sentence has only one, is always in second position in the sentence and that the V2 is at the end:

*ik **sjoch** har* 'I see her'
*ik **ha** har **sjoen*** 'I have seen her'

ik sil har ***sjoen hawwe*** 'I will have seen her'

Notice that when the main verb stands alone, it occurs in second position, as expected. When an auxiliary is added, as is *ha* (from *hawwe*) in the second example above, the new element occurs in second position and the main verb is "bumped", as it were, to final place in the sentence. The verb *hawwe* is always followed by a verb in the past participle form, so *sjoch* becomes *sjoen* 'seen'. And when *sille* 'will' is added in the third example sentence, it occurs in inflected form in second position. The verb associated with modals like *sille* is usually in the infinitive form, so the infinitive *hawwe* is placed at the end of the V2, behind *sjoen*, to create *ik sil har sjoen hawwe.*

NOTE: For further details on the verb-second constraint, see sec. 5.1.3.

Transitive verbs are those which can take a direct object. The direct object normally follows the finite verb (V1) and comes before the V2, which necessarily comes at the end of the sentence:

ik sjoch Jan 'I see John'
ik sjoch in fûgel 'I see a bird'
ik hie in fûgel sjoen 'I had seen a bird'

Some verbs, of which *jaan* 'give' is an example, take two noun objects. Word order is crucial - when two objects follow a verb of the above type, the first is interpreted as the indirect, and the second as the direct object:

se joech har kammeraatske in skjirre
'she gave (to) her girlfriend a pair of scissors'
ik joech de man in kat 'I gave (to) the man a cat'
ik joech de kat in bal 'I gave (to) the cat a ball'

If both are pronouns, the order is reversed: it is now the indirect object which comes after the direct object:

ik joech it har 'I gave it to her'
se liende it him 'she lent it to him'

The indirect object may also be expressed as a prepositional phrase with *oan* 'to'; the order of this prepositional phrase in relation to the direct object is not crucial:

ik joech Beppe in plant 'I gave grandmother a plant'
ik joech in plant oan Beppe 'I gave a plant to grandmother'
ik joech oan Beppe in plant 'I gave a plant to grandmother'

5.1.2. Existential sentences with 'der'

Similar to English constructions with *there is* and *there are*, existential sentences in Frisian occur with *der* in the position normally occupied by the subject of the sentence. The subject is then found following the V1. An important difference with the English construction is that *der* sentences are not limited to the verb *be* and a few others, but rather may be formed with intransitive verbs in general, and even with transitive verbs:

der is te folle wetter yn it fjild
'there is too much water in the field'
der wenne in tsjoender yn dat wâld
'a sorcerer used to live in that forest' ('there lived a sorcerer in that forest')
der ride in soad auto's op 'e dyk
'there are a lot of cars driving on the road' ('there drive a lot of cars on the road')
der hat ien it ljocht oan litten
'someone has left on the light' ('there has someone left on the light')

With all of these sentences, the true or logical subject must be indefinite – one cannot say **der wenne de tsjoender yn dat wâld.* In addition, notice that the verb must agree in number with the logical subject. Compare *der siet in jonge op it stek* 'a boy was sitting on the fence' (lit.: 'there sat a boy on the fence') with *der sieten twa jonges* op it stek 'two boys were sitting on the fence'.

NOTE: In specification questions *der* is used when the question word asks for a kind, whereas it is excluded when the question word asks for one or more individuals. Compare *wat is der bard?* 'what has happened' and *wat foar boeken binne der te keap yn dy winkel?* 'what kind of book are sold in this shop' to *wa wol (*der) in suertsje* 'who wants a sweet'. For more discussion of the conditions under which *der* may appear, and the special behavior of this element in specification questions, see Hoekstra (1991). Passive sentences may also occur in existential constructions with *der*. See sec. 5.1.8.

5.1.3. Preposing and the verb second constraint

One of the basic conditions on declarative sentences, referred to here as the *verb second constraint*, is that the finite verb (V1) is always the second element in sentences that constitute an independent clause. Note that the verb need not be the second *word* in the sentence. In other words, the first "element" may be either a single word or a phrase:

ik ***wie*** *juster yn Dokkum* 'I was in Dokkum yesterday'
Mem ***siet*** *yn har stoel* 'mother sat in her chair'
ús heit en dy ***komme*** *moarn te iten* 'our parents are coming to eat tomorrow'
Anne en Afke ***joegen*** *it famke in radio* 'Anne and Afke gave the girl a radio'

In addition, coordinating conjunctions (*dus* and *mar* below) are not counted:

dus dy âld man **libbet** *noch* 'so that old man is still alive'
mar Auke **sil** *ek meikomme* 'but Auke will also come along'

Emphasis may be added to a word or phrase by *preposing* it; i.e., by moving it to the front of the sentence (occupying the first position). Whatever was in the first position beforehand is thus displaced, and is moved to directly behind the verb. Compare these sentences, where the preposed element receives a somewhat greater degree of stress in accordance with its emphatic nature, to those with essentially the same meaning above:

juster ***wie*** *ik yn Snits*
yn har stoel ***siet*** *Mem*
moarn ***komme*** *ús heit en dy te iten*
in radio ***joegen*** *Anne en Afke it famke*
it famke ***joegen*** *Anne en Afke in radio*

Because of the potential for ambiguity, preposing is often avoided where the syntax or the context cannot make it clear that only one interpretation is possible. A sentence like *de hûn seach de kat* 'the dog saw the cat' is unlikely to have the direct object preposed – the resulting *de kat seach de hûn*, even with emphatic stress on *kat*, is most likely to be interpreted as 'the cat saw the dog', rather than the reverse. But when, for instance, the object is plural – *de hûn seach de katten* – preposing the object produces *de katten seach de hûn*, a more plausible utterance because the singular inflection of the verb will only allow *hûn* as its subject, hence ambiguity is impossible.

NOTE: See further De Haan (1983).

5.1.4. Impersonal constructions

As in English, there are certain impersonal constructions in Frisian which use *it* as a subject. Many of these relate somehow to the weather:

it reint 'it's raining'
it hat juster tongere 'it thundered yesterday'
it wjerljochtet 'it's lightning'
it muoit my 'it bothers me'

Verbs which describe certain actions may take *it* as a surface subject in sentences like the following:

it sit hjir lekker 'one sits nicely here' (lit.: 'it sits nicely here')
it prate net maklik sa 'talking was not easy in this way' (lit.: 'it didn't talk easily in this way')

it rydt goed op dizze dyk 'the driving is good on this road' (lit.: 'it drives well on this road').

5.1.5. Subject-verb agreement

It is a general fact of the language that the verb must agree in number with the subject of the sentence:

Jelle ***is*** *werom* 'Jelle is back'
Jelle en ik ***binne*** *werom* 'Jelle and I are back'

Even when the subject comes to stand after the verb, the agreement rule holds, as when preposing of the direct object occurs:

*beantsjes mei (*meie) ik net lije* 'beans I can't stand'
*dy minsken ha (*hawwe) ik al oansprutsen* 'those people I already spoke to'

Constructions with *it*, *dit*, and *dat* in subject position may take plural verbs (copulas) before plural predicate nouns:

it wiene twa sutelders 'it was two vendors'
dit binne myn pakesizzers 'these are my grandchildren'
dat binne ús omke en muoike 'those are our uncle and aunt'

5.1.6. Commands

True commands are made with the imperative form of the verb (see sec. 4.2.4.6). This verb is typically the first word in the sentence:

kom hjir 'come here'
doch net sa nuver 'don't act so strangely'
wês stil 'be quiet'
rin wat hurder 'walk a bit faster'

The imperative form by itself is rather brusque, so often *mar*, *efkes*, or *ris* ([rəs] or [əs]) is added to soften the impact of the order:

kom hjir mar 'come here'
kom hjir ris 'come here (for a while)'
kom hjir mar ris (as above)
Jetze, waskje efkes ôf 'Jetze, wash the dishes'

As is obvious, the subject of the command is typically unstated. When emphasis is desired, the second person pronoun directly follows the verb, with stress:

gean do nei hûs ta 'you go home'
harkje jo ris nei my 'you listen to me'

In section 4.1.4. the manners in which the second person may be expressed are discussed; it is mentioned that in Frisian the third person is often utilized in this capacity. Similarly, in commands the third person may occur in this sense:

yt Jan dat stikje bôle mar op 'why don't you (John) eat that piece of bread'
wês hy mar stil 'you be quiet'

Another type of command utilizes the infinitive: *ite!* 'eat!'; *rinne!* 'walk!':

nei hûs ta gean 'go home'
nei my harkje 'listen to me'
dyn boek meinimme 'take your book along'
hjir komme 'come here'
net sa nuver dwaan 'don't act so strangely'
wat hurder rinne 'walk a bit faster'

Observe that in the above sentences the verb (infinitive) comes at the end of the sentence, as opposed to the true command, where it stands at the beginning.

As in English, there are several less direct (hence more polite) ways to give a command. Roughly speaking, the more apparent choice or discretion a person is given, the more deferential the command. Asking someone to do something is more polite than ordering him to do so, even though under the circumstances it may be no less a command:

wolsto de doar effen iepen hâlde? 'do you want to hold the door open?'
soenen jo de doar ticht dwaan wolle? 'would you care to close the door?'

5.1.7. Verb particles and the order of verbs

As noted previously, the finite, or inflected, form of the verb (V1) always occurs in second position in declarative sentences (sec. 5.1.3). With complex verbs, the other parts of the verb phrase (participles, infinitives) occur at the end of the clause, following any objects, adverbs, and so forth:

*ik **seach** har* 'I saw her'
*ik **ha** har yn Harns **sjoen*** 'I have seen her in Harns'
*ik **sil** har moarn **sjen*** 'I will see her tomorrow'
*ik **sil** har **sjoen hawwe*** 'I will have seen her'

Verbal particles, or separable prefixes (see also sec. 2.3), are attached as prefixes to the main verb when it is in citation form: *meigean* 'go along'; *stilstean* 'stand still'. Recall that the separable prefix is always stressed. When the main verb is inflected, however, the particle is placed at the end of the clause:

*no **stiet** de trein **stil*** 'now the train is standing still'
***giest** moarn ek **mei**?* 'are you going along tomorrow?'

If the verb is an infinitive or past participle, the particle remains attached to the verb:

*Wibe wol ek **meigean*** 'Wibe also wants to go along'
*myn horloazje hat al twa dagen **stilstien*** 'my watch has stood still for two days'

Infinitives with *te* place *te* between the separable particle and the main verb. Compare *om **mei te gean*** 'in order to go along' (from '*meigean*) with *om te **ferstean*** (from *fer'stean*), where the prefix *fer-* is inseparable.

NOTE: Verbs with separable prefixes, like *opwachtsje* 'await, be on the lookout for', should not be confused with verbs which are associated with a particular preposition, as is *wachtsje op* 'wait for'. Notice the difference in the declarative sentences *ik **wachtsje** it bern **op*** 'I await the child' and *ik **wachtsje op** it bern* 'I wait for the child'. Compare also the present perfect sentences *ik ha it bern **opwachte*** 'I awaited the child' and *ik ha **op** it bern **wachte*** 'I waited for the child'.

5.1.8. Passivization

Oftentimes it is possible to express an idea in either an active or a passive sentence. The following are some examples:

Active:	*Lolke **pakt** de tsiis **yn*** 'Lolke is packing the cheese'
Passive:	*de tsiis **wurdt** troch Lolke **ynpakt***
	'the cheese is (being) packed by Lolke'
Active:	*Boukje **jout** de appel oan har mem*
	'Boukje gives the apple to her mom'
Passive:	*de appel **wurdt** fan Boukje oan har mem **jûn***
	'the apple is given by Boukje to her mom'

A passive sentence differs from a corresponding active one in three main ways:

(1) the direct object of the active (transitive) sentence is the surface subject of the passive sentence (see *de tsiis* and *de appel* above);
(2) the subject of the active sentence ends up behind the verb in a prepositional phrase governed by *fan* (literary) or *troch* in the corresponding passive (see *Lolke* and *Boukje* above); and
(3) the verb phrase in a passive sentence has distinct passive morphology (see sec. 4.2.4.4.).

The prepositional phrase with *fan* or *troch* may be left out, so that the agent of the action is unspecified:

hjir wurdt in soad tsiis iten 'a lot of cheese is eaten here'
flaters wurde alle dagen makke 'mistakes are made every day'

Notice that with all of these sentences the inflected verb is in second position and all other verbs come at the end of the clause (i.e., the normal word order for declarative sentences).

In place of an actual passive, Frisians often prefer to use impersonal active constructions: *se ite hjir in soad tsiis* 'they eat a lot of cheese here'.

Unlike English, sentences with an intransitive active verb and a human logical subject (which need not be expressed) may also be passivized. In that case, *der* generally occurs as a dummy in subject position:

der wurdt moarn meand 'mowing will be done tomorrow'
der waard hjir altyd dûnse 'there was always dancing done here'
der wurdt hjoed wrotten 'hard work is being done today'

In many ways these may be regarded as passive equivalents of sentences with the indefinite pronoun *ien* 'one, a person' or *se* 'they': the indefinite *se hawwe hiel wat opiten* 'they ate quite a bit' is quite similar semantically to *der is hiel wat opiten* 'there was quite a bit eaten'.

An important restriction on these impersonal passives is that they must co-occur with verbs which can take an agent, although the agent is understood. For instance, *miene* 'think, be of the opinion' is not a verb whose subject may be an agent; therefore, **hjir wurdt wakker miend* 'much thinking is done here' is not a grammatical sentence.

Similar to the above are passive sentences which have existential *der* in subject position, but which may also contain a subject (logical patient), indirect object, or *troch* clause:

der waarden twa minsken troch de soldaten deasketten
'there were two people shot to death by the soldiers'
der sil moarn in hynder ferkocht wurde
'there will be a horse sold tomorrow'
der binne trije skiep skeard (wurden)
'three sheep have been shorn'

As usual in existential sentences (see sec. 5.1.2), the verb agrees with the *surface* subject (the logical patient).

Various elements in this type of sentence may be preposed (sec. 5.1.3). When this occurs, the preposed element displaces *der*, which is placed behind the verb. The *der* may then sometimes be deleted: *moarn wurdt (der) in hynder ferkocht*, etc.

NOTE: In contrast to English, the promotion of the indirect object to surface subject by passivization is not possible in Frisian (as in *I was given a present*). There is, however, an existential passive with preposed indirect object which is similar, e.g., *my wurdt ferteld* 'I am told'.

5.1.9. Adverbial order in simple sentences

Most of the conditions on word order pertaining to nouns, adjectives, and verbs are outlined in other sections. What concerns us here is the positions that adverbs may occupy in the sentence. Since many prepositional phrases have an adverbial function, they will be included in this discussion on adverbs.

It is useful to categorize adverbs into groups of those relating to time, manner, and place. Below are examples of those (and prepositional phrases) belonging to each group:

(1) **time:** *hjoed* 'today'; *moarn* 'tomorrow'; *om tsien oere* 'at ten o'clock'; *nei in hiel skoft* 'after a long time'; *sa njonkelytsen* 'after a while'; *fuortendaliks* 'right away'.

(2) **manner:** *sa* 'thus'; *op dizze manier* 'in this way'; *tegearre* 'the two of us/you/them, together'; *mei ús allen* 'all of us, together'; *dúdlik* 'clearly'; *foarsichtich* 'carefully'.

(3) **place:** *hjir* 'here'; *nei Snits ta* 'to Snits'; *yn Terherne* 'in Terherne'; *thús* 'at home'; *oan 'e sleatswal* 'on the side of the ditch'; *by ús* 'at our house'.

The above scheme does not include all adverbs, omitting, for instance, those which modify adjectives. Perhaps a simple way of determining which adverbs are which is to note that those in (1) answer the question *when*, those in (2) the question *how*, while those in (3) tell *where*.

Adverbs of time have a great amount of freedom of movement. They can occur at the beginning of a sentence, at the end, or directly after the finite verb:

***juster** wie ik yn Dokkum*
*ik wie **juster** yn Dokkum*
*ik wie yn Dokkum **juster***
} 'yesterday I was in Dokkum'

***oer twa dagen** sil ik nei Eastenryk gean*
*ik sil **oer twa dagen** nei Eastenryk gean*
*ik sil nei Eastenryk gean **oer twa dagen***
} 'I will go to Austria in two days'

The other adverbs, unless placed elsewhere for emphasis, usually follow immediately behind the finite verb (V1) and its objects:

*ik seach Pyt **yn it doarp*** 'I saw Pete in the village'
*hy die de doar **mei in kaai** iepen* 'he opened the door with a key'

jo moatte it ***op sa'n manier*** *dwaan* 'you must do it in this way'

When there is both a direct and indirect object, the adverb is frequently located between them:

Geartsje joech har freon ***earjuster*** *in boek*
'Geartsje gave her friend a book the day before yesterday'
Gjalt liende syn maat ***samar*** *syn auto*
'Gjalt lent his friend his car without hesitation'

It is not unusual for several adverbs to co-occur within a single sentence. When this happens, the normal order in which the adverbs appear is (1) adverbs of time, (2) adverbs of manner, and (3) adverbs of place:

Dukke soe ***moandei op redens nei Turns*** *ride*
'Dukke was going to go to Turns on skates Monday'
Hja gyngen ***mei-inoar nei skoalle***
'they went to school together'

Since there is quite a bit of permissible variation, these must be seen as general guidelines only.

A final comment on word order involves sentences with complex verb phrases, where uninflected forms must stand at the end of the sentence. Prepositional phrases which stand before the final verbs (V2) may optionally be moved behind them:

ik ha har ***yn 'e bus*** *sjoen* 'I saw her in the bus'
or: *ik ha har sjoen* ***yn 'e bus***

This rule is often referred to in other Germanic languages as *PP over V*, indicating that the prepositional phrase is moved over the verb to the final position in the sentence.

5.1.10. Negation

Sentences are normally made negative by words like *net* 'not', *noait* (or more literary *nea*) 'never', *gjinien* 'nobody', *neat* 'nothing', *noch* 'nor', *gjin* 'no', *nimmen* 'nobody', and so forth. *Noait (nea)* functions essentially as an adverb of time, *nimmen* and *gjinien* as pronouns, and *noch* as a conjunction.

Gjin is a determiner, hence uninflected, and is the negative form of *in* 'a'. In other words, instead of saying *hy hat net in fyts* 'he does not have a bicycle', one normally says *hy hat gjin fyts* 'he has no bicycle'. As can *in*, *gjin* can be followed by adjectives: *gjin tûke boer* 'not a competent farmer'; *gjin skerp mes* 'no sharp knife'. Indefinite plural and mass nouns also take *gjin*: *gjin skerpe messen* 'no sharp knives'; *gjin sûpe* 'no buttermilk'. *Gjin* can also be used substantively, as in *ik ha gjin* 'I have none' or *ik ha gjinnen*.

Most negation is done by *net*. When *net* is used in a neutral sense, in other words, when not negating one specific element but the sentence as a whole, it tends to occur just before the position of manner adverbials. There are exceptions to this, however; below are some of the typical places where *net* (or *noait* 'never') may be found:

following an intransitive verb:
hy libbet net 'he is not alive'

directly preceding a predicate adjective/noun:
ús heit is net boer 'our father is not a farmer'
Simen is net sa jong mear 'Simen is not so young anymore'

after the definite direct object of a transitive sentence:
ik sjoch it fiskje net 'I don't see the small fish'

before the indefinite direct object:
ik sjoch noait in fiskje 'I never see a small fish'

before a manner adverb in a group of adverbials:
Wytske ried juster net op in brommer troch Dokkum
'Wytske didn't go through Dokkum on a moped yesterday'

For purposes of contrast, *net* is often placed elsewhere:
net Tineke mar Antsje wennet yn Nijehoarne
'not Tineke but Antsje lives in Nijehoarne'

By a process called *negative raising*, limited mostly to sentences with verbs like *tinke* 'think' and *leauwe* 'believe' in the main clause, the negative element of a subordinate clause may be moved into the upper clause: *ik tink dat se moarn net fuotbalje wolle* 'I think that they don't want to play soccer tomorrow' may become *ik tink net dat se moarn fuotbalje wolle*. Likewise, *ik wol leauwe dat er gjin sûpenbrij mei* 'I believe that he doesn't like buttermilk porridge' may be converted to *ik wol net leauwe dat er sûpenbrij mei.*

NOTE: Double negatives, while not as common as in some languages (like Spanish), do occur in Frisian: *ik ha dêr neat gjin hinder fan* 'I have no bother from it'; *ik ha hjir noait net ien sjoen* 'I have never seen one here'.

5.1.11. Modals

Modal verbs are those which express a mood or an attitude towards a particular action. A modal is therefore usually associated with another verb, although sometimes in actual discourse the verb may be understood. Most modals are in origin preterite-present verbs, a class of words in Germanic which, for historical reasons not relevant today, is characterized in the present tense by the fact that

the third person singular has no overt suffix: *hy kin* 'he can', not **hy kint*. The following are the Frisian modal verbs. The conjugation of the modals, which is somewhat irregular, is listed with the other irregular verbs in sec. 4.2.5.

doare 'dare (to)': *doarsto oer de sleat springe?* 'do you dare jump over the ditch?' As in English, the gerund with *te* may also be used: *doarsto oer de sleat te springen?* 'do you dare to jump over the ditch?'

hoege 'need to'. This occurs only with a negative in the sentence, and takes a verb with *te*: *jo hoege dat net te dwaan* 'you don't have to do that'; *Jan hoecht neat te keapjen* 'Jan doesn't have to buy anything'. Note that *doare* and *hoege* both take *te* plus the gerund, and that they also distinguish themselves in taking the *-t* suffix in the third person singular, although more conservative varieties of the language generally have *hy doar*. The *g* or *ch* is not always pronounced in conversational speech: *hoecht* is pronounced [hut], and *hoech* and *hoege* may both be [hu] before consonants other than [h]. In dependent clauses *hoege* may also occur without *te*: *ik hoopje dat ik dat net dwaan hoech* 'I hope that I don't have to do that'.

kinne 'can, be able to, be possible': *dat kin net* 'that is not possible'; *ús beppe kin goed skake* 'our grandmother can play chess well'.

meie 'may, like to': *se mei net swimme* 'she may not swim'; *omke mocht altyd graach in piip smoke* 'uncle always liked to smoke a pipe'. *Meie* with *lije* 'suffer' means to like someone or something; often the *lije* is not expressed: *ik mei syn koart hier net lije* 'I can't stand his short hair'; *Aukje mocht gjin sûpe* 'Aukje didn't like buttermilk'.

moatte 'must': *do moatst in nije biezem meitsje* 'you have to make a new broom'; *jo moatte net te gau in eigen kompjûter keapje* 'you should not buy your own computer too soon'.

sille 'will, shall': *ik sil weromkomme* 'I will return'; *ik soe weromkomme* 'I was going to return'; *soe Sytse dat wol kinne?* 'would Sytse be able to do that?' Sentences with *sille* and the particle *wol* express probability: *dat sil ('t) wol* 'that's probably so'; *jimme sille wol thús bliuwe moatte* 'you will probably have to stay at home'.

wolle 'want to': *ik woe tige graach reedriden leare* 'I wanted very much to learn how to skate'

NOTE: Modal verbs, with the exception of *doare* and *hoege*, have a deontic and an epistemic meaning. In the former case the modal says something about the capability, wish, etc., of the subject, in the latter it says something about the possibility, desirability, etc., of the whole proposition. Compare *Hylke koe fytse* 'Hylke could ride a bicycle', which is about Hylke's capability to ride a bike, and *Hylke koe wol siik wêze* 'Hylke might be ill', which refers to the possibility of Hylke's being ill. On this distinction, see Hoekstra (1990).

When a modal occurs with *gean* as the main verb in a sentence in which movement from one place to another is fairly predictable, the verb *gean* is usually left out:

Hette soe moarn fuort 'Hette was going to go away tomorrow'
ik wol ek nei Loaiengea 'I want to go to Loaiengea also'

NOTE: This phenomenon of infinitive ellipsis is discussed in detail in Hoekstra (1997, Ch. 6). Here it is connected to the similar ellipsis of *te*-infinitives in *om*-clauses in Frisian. In sentences such as *ik bin fan doel om moarn fuort (te gean)* 'I intend to go away tomorrow' and *hja ferpofte it om nei Loaiengea (te gean)* 'she flatly refused to go to Loaiengea', *te gean* is often omitted.

Unless the modal is one which is followed by *te* and a verb in the gerund, the modal is normally associated with a following infinitive: *ik wol ite* 'I want to eat'; *ik sil in eintsje fytse* 'I will cycle a ways'. Because the modal is the finite verb (V1) in the above sentences, it is in second position; the main verb comes at the end of the clause. The modal plus main verb can also occur in more complex tenses. For example, *ik wol ite* can be made into a past perfect or pluperfect in the usual manner – the relevant form of the auxiliary *hawwe* occurs in second position and *wolle* becomes a past participle: *ik ha ite wollen* 'I have wanted to eat'. The future is formed with *sille* followed by the infinitive (sec. 4.2.4.1), creating *ik sil ite wolle* 'I will want to eat'. Similarly, a passive like *it wurdt dien* 'it is being done' can be associated with a modal such as *moatte* to form *it moat dien wurde* 'it must be done'. Notice that what was the V1 (*wurdt*) is now in the infinitive at the end of the V2, because the inflected modal takes in the V1 position. In like fashion, this sentence can be converted into the future tense with *sille*, producing *it sil dien wurde moatte* 'it will have to be done', or into a past perfect (with *hawwe* plus past participle) as *it hie dien wurde moatten* 'it had to have been done'.

NOTE: All of the modals can function as independent verbs, without another verb in the sentence: *dat kin wol* 'that is possible'; *soks mei net* 'such things are not allowed'; *it sil wol* 'it's probably so'.

5.2. Questions

Several means are available to make questions in Frisian. Often a change in intonation will suffice: *do komst moarn* with a falling intonation contour is the statement 'you are coming tomorrow', while with final rising intonation it is interrogative: 'you are coming tomorrow?' Other questions are *alternative*, where two alternatives (generally *ja* 'yes' or *nee* 'no') are presented for selection. *Specification* questions ask that the addressee give certain information regarding who, what, when, how, etc. In English these are, for obvious reasons, often called Wh-questions.

5.2.1. Alternative questions

As opposed to declarative sentences, which typically begin with a noun phrase followed by V1, alternative questions can be viewed as inverting the subject and the inflected verb:

wolle jo moarn reedride? 'do you want to go skating tomorrow?'
hasto in fjurke foar my? 'do you have a light for me?'
ite hja alle dagen ierappels? 'do they eat potatoes every day?'
is der ien thús? 'is someone home?'
reint it? 'is it raining?'

The answer typically affirms which alternative is correct: *it reint* or *ja*. The above questions simply ask for affirmation or negation, and are commonly called *yes-no questions*. At times the alternatives are made are more explicit:

reint it of net? 'is it raining or not?'
komsto no of letter? 'are you coming now or later?'
is jimme hûs read of blau? 'is your house red or blue?'
komt Jarich hjoed of moarn? 'is Jarich coming today or tomorrow?'
reint it of snijt it? 'is it raining or snowing?'

We may assume that all of the above sentences derive from two juxtaposed complete sentences like *reint it of reint it net?* or *komt Jarich hjoed of komt Jarich moarn?* Information in the second sentence identical to that in the first may optionally be left out.

Where deletion of identical material is precluded in the second clause, it is often permissible to delete the repeated words in the first clause: *reint of snijt it?*; *fytse of rinne jimme?* Notice that now the alternatives are directly juxtaposed to one another, not separated by any extraneous material. In a sense the two juxtaposed alternatives have become one unit through deletion, and thus do not allow other constituents to violate that unity.

NOTE: It ought to be mentioned that, as in English, many of the alternative questions may be ambiguous, depending on the intonation. Just as the English question *is this true or false?* may be answered by *true/false* or *yes/no*, so the scope of *reint it of snijt it* may be the entire proposition (if it either rains or snows, the answer is affirmative), or it may ask the hearer to make a choice, presupposing that one alternative or the other is at that moment true. The former interpretation is a yes-no question, while the latter is a true alternative question.

5.2.2. Specification questions

Unlike alternative questions, specification questions ask for information without presenting two alternatives or choices to the hearer. The question words used for this purpose are listed in section 4.6; they generally are placed at the very beginning of the sentence, although a coordinating conjunction may precede. The

verb comes in second position, followed by the subject, if there is one:

wêr wenje jo? 'where do you live?'
hoe âld is dit berntsje? 'how old is this child?'
wa sit yn 'e foarkeamer? 'who's sitting in the living room?'
wat leit hjir op 'e grûn? 'what is lying on the ground here?'
dus wannear sile wy? 'so when do we go sailing?'
wat ytsto? 'what are you eating?'

When the question word is in a prepositional phrase, the entire phrase may be fronted (pied piping) or the object of the preposition may be preposed, leaving the preposition behind (preposition stranding):

***mei hokker famke** hast praat?* 'with which girl have you spoken?'
***hokker famke** hast **mei** praat?* 'which girl have you spoken with?'

As mentioned in section 4.5, when the object of the preposition is *wat*, expressions like *wêrmei* 'with what' take the place of the expected **mei wat*. These expressions do not normally undergo pied piping, but are preferably split in normal discourse. Some examples:

***wêr** moat ik dit blikje **mei** iepen meitsje?*
'with what should I open this tin can?'
***wêr** komt soks **fan**?*
'from what do such things come?'

When the object of the preposition is *wa*, it may be fronted along with the preposition or, alternatively, the preposition may be stranded. In the latter case it is quite often replaced by *wêr*:

***njonken wa** hast justerjûn sitten?*
'next to whom did you **sit yesterday evening?'**
***wa** hast justerjûn **njonken** sitten?*
***wêr** hast justerjûn **njonken** sitten?*

The answer to a question regarding *wêrmei* may be *dêrmei* 'with that' or *hjirmei* 'with this'. The constraints which operate with constructions like *wêrmei* are also, roughly speaking, valid for *dêrmei*, *hjirmei*, etc., when they come to stand at the beginning of a sentence (usually for emphasis); i.e. they are usually split:

*ik sil it **dêrmei** besykje* 'I will try it with that'
or: ***dêr** sil ik it **mei** besykje*

NOTE: On preposition stranding in Frisian, see Hoekema (1955), Wadman (1989), and Hoekstra (1995). The near-obligatory splitting of adverbial pronouns like *dêrmei*, etc. is discussed in Hoekstra (1994b).

A special type of specification questions in Frisian, involving so-called partial or multiple wh-movement, is investigated by Hiemstra (1986). Examples are:

wat tinkst wa't it dien hat? 'who do you think did it?'
wa tinkst wa't it dien hat? 'who do you think did it?'

5.2.3. Tag questions

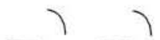
The typical tag question has regular declarative word order, with the tag asking for confirmation of what is stated in the main clause: *you're sick, aren't you?* or *you aren't sick, are you?* In Frisian, when a positive sentence precedes, the tag is *net* or *is 't net sa*, while following negative sentences it is *wol*:

do bist siik, net? 'you're sick, aren't you?'
do bist net siik, wol? 'you're not sick, are you?'
dy keardel kin keatse, is 't net sa? 'that fellow can play *keats*, can't he?'

Basically, tag questions are a means of asking for confirmation or agreement, and tend functionally to indicate a desire to provoke conversation, express the speaker's opinion, or to reveal insecurity about a particular topic. Tags like *net* or *is 't net sa* invite a positive response, while those with *wol* are normally answered with a negative reply. Even more explicitly searching for agreement are the tags *tinkst net (tinke jo net)* or *tinkt dy net (tinkt jo net)* 'don't you agree', as in *'t is in griis, tinkst net?* 'it's a real shame, don't you agree?'

5.2.4. Intonational questions

Another way of forming questions is by using question intonation – rising pitch at the end of an utterance – on declarative sentences:



de boat is lek 'the boat is leaking'



de boat is lek? 'the boat is leaking?'

The expectation with an intonational question is that the response will be yes. In addition, it may express some disbelief that the situation is true, especially with very high pitch at the end of the sentence. *Do komst ek?* 'you're coming too?' is a question with slightly rising intonation, but can also indicate surprise when the pitch rises more steeply.

5.3. Complex sentences

Sentences which have a single verb phrase (called a VP and often including two or more verb forms, as in *sil iten hawwe*) are regarded here as simple. On the other hand, sentences with more than one VP are *complex*. Such complex sentences are composed of a number of simple sentences. The manner in which simple sentences are conjoined, or connected to each other, will be the topic of this section.

5.3.1. Coordination

5.3.1.1. Sentence coordination

The most basic way to connect simple sentences into a larger whole is by means of coordinating conjunctions like *en, mar, of, dus, want,* etc.:

de brêge wie stikken, dus ik koe net fierder gean
'the bridge was broken, so I could go no further'
wy wenje al tweintich jier yn Austraalje, mar prate noch altyd Frysk
'we have been living in Australia for twenty years, but still speak Frisian'
mem moat molke keapje en Jitske wol in kammeraatske opsykje
'mom has to buy milk, and Jitske wants to look up a girlfriend'
ik bin wat let, want ik hie in lekke bân
'I am a bit late, because I had a flat tire'

Coordination essentially joins two independent sentences, hence the word order of the conjuncts does not change.

Not uncommon in Frisian is to have a period (phonetically, a pause) between two conjoined sentences, with the result that a coordinating conjunction may begin a sentence. The following are some such sentences from *De Sûnde fan Haitze Holwerda* by U. van Houten:

Dat de boer mocht ris oer it skouder sizze...
'So the farmer would say over his shoulder...'
Mar sa mocht men ek wer net!
'But that was also not permissible!'
Want hy mocht dan syn lekken en brekken hawwe...
'For he may have had his faults...'
En hja wisten him te finen as der eat dien wurde moast
'And they knew where to find him if something needed to be done'

In each of these cases, the conjunction must act as a transition from a previously expressed sentence or theme without physically connecting the sentences.

Information in the second conjunct which is a repetition of that in the first may often be deleted. For instance, when the subjects of two conjuncts are co-referential, it is only expressed in the first (material which may be deleted is listed in parentheses):

Jan arbeide oerdeis yn in fabryk en (Jan) learde jûns
'Jan worked by day in a factory and studied at night'

Identical verbs may also be deleted, with or without the subject:

ik yt sop en Gerrit (yt) grauwe earten
'I eat soup and Gerrit (eats) marrowfat peas'
Geartsje laket te folle en Durk (laket) te min
'Geartsje laughs too much and Durk (laughs) too little'
juster lake ik te folle en hjoed (laitsje ik) te min
'yesterday I laughed too much and today (I laugh) too little'

Notice that in each case the same verb must be involved, but not necessarily in the same form. In linguistic terminology the deletion of identical verbs in conjoined structures is called *gapping*. This process also applies with more complex verb phrases:

ik ha net in skiep sjoen, mar (ik ha) in hûn (sjoen)
'I didn't see a sheep, but (I saw) a dog'
hawwe jo in appel keazen, of (hawwe jo) in par (keazen)?
'did you choose an apple or (did you choose) a pear?'

It needs to be mentioned that gapping – the deletion of the verb and, when they are identical, its complements and modifiers – may take place only when some element following the verb is left standing (hence the name *gapping*). For instance, *Durk drinkt hjoed bearenburch en Jan drinkt hjoed bearenburch* cannot be reduced by gapping to **Durk drinkt hjoed bearenburch en Jan*, since nothing which followed the verb in the second conjunct remains; the entire predicate has been deleted. But *Durk drinkt hjoed bearenburch en Jan jenever* is well-formed. Often the adverbs *al, wol, ek,* and *net* suffice for the purpose of leaving some element of the VP behind:

ik sil nei de film ta, en hy ek
'I'll go to the movies, and he will, too'
mem wol hjoed ferve, mar heit net
'mother wants to paint today, but father does not'
Toppenhuzen hat gjin swimbad, mar Snits al
'Toppenhuzen has no swimming pool, but Snits does'
de hiele húshâlding sil nei Brabân, dus Sikke ek
'the whole family will go to Brabant, thus Sikke will also'
Durk drinkt bearenburch en Jan ek
'Durk drinks bearenburch and Jan does also'

Conjoined sentences with multiple objects may become ambiguous when deletion occurs: *Jetze joech mem in tút en heit in hân* may mean 'Jetze gave mom a kiss and he gave dad a handshake' or 'Jetze gave mom a kiss and dad gave her a handshake'. The ambiguity rests in the fact that once the verb is deleted, it is no longer possible to determine the function of each NP from its position relative to the verb.

The conjunction *want* does not allow for deletion, as a rule. Compare *hja yt de beantsjes op en ik de woartels* 'she eats up the beans and I the carrots' with the ungrammatical **hja yt de beantsjes op want ik de woartels*. Correct here is *hja yt de beantsjes op want ik yt de woartels op* 'she eats up the beans because I eat up the carrots'. Even identical subjects cannot be deleted: **Sytse soe nei de winkel want moast wat keapje* is ungrammatical without a subject *hy* in the second conjunct.

5.3.1.2. Phrasal coordination

Closely related to the above (and sometimes considered derived from it) is phrasal coordination, where two separate constituents (not clauses) are conjoined by a conjunction into one larger constituent of the same category. Thus the two nouns *Jan* and *Pyt* may be joined into one larger constituent *Jan en Pyt*, which acts like a plural noun. The sentences which have such phrasal conjunction must be considered, at least at the surface level, to be simple rather than complex. Compare the conjoined (and reduced) sentences *ik ha in skiep sjoen en in hûn* and *hawwe jo in appel iten of in par?* with the examples of phrasal conjunction below:

ik ha in skiep en in hûn sjoen 'I saw a sheep and a dog'
hawwe jo in appel of in par iten? 'did you eat an apple or a pear?'

Similar is the common process in Frisian by which derivational prefixes, verb particles, or first elements of compounds are conjoined and reduced. Again, the material which may be omitted is placed in parentheses:

op(geande) en delgeande twalûden
'rising and falling diphthongs'
de foar(dielen) en neidielen fan dit projekt
'the advantages and disadvantages of this project'
is it dy ta(fallen) of ôffallen?
'was it better than you expected or worse?'
se kin sawol piano(spylje) as gitaarspylje
'she can play the piano as well as the guitar'
dit binne ús pake(sizzers) en beppesizzers
'these are our grandchildren (grandfather-sayers and grandmother-sayers)'
meane jo hjir(mei) of dêrmei?
'are you mowing with this or with that?'

In contrast with most other types of deletion, here material *before* the conjunction is deleted. In writing, the deleted word is usually indicated by a hyphen:

is it in op- of ûndergeande sinne? 'is it a rising or setting sun?'

5.3.2. Subordination

Subordinate clauses in Frisian have several characteristics:

(1) they are introduced by a subordinating conjunction, most of which are listed in sec. 4.7.2;
(2) they have dependent clause word order, with the finite verb (V1) at the end of the clause, following any non-finite verbs (V2);
(3) the subordinating conjunction is almost invariably followed by *dat* or *oft* or the reduced form *'t*.

Below are some sentences that illustrate subordination; in each case, the main clause is followed by a subordinate clause:

Aukje siet te eameljen, ***wylst Brechtsje it wurk die***
'Aukje sat chattering while Brechtsje did the work'
Haitse gong werom, ***omdat it min waar wie***
'Haitse turned back because it was bad weather'
wy wiene klear, ***nei't wy ús lessen leard hienen***
'we were finished after we had done our homework'

The dependent clauses are introduced here by the subordinating conjunctions *wylst, omdat,* and *nei't*, and the finite verb (*die, wie,* and *hienen*) occurs at the end of the clause, following the non-finite verbs (V2), if there are any. As was mentioned in sec. 4.7.2, the subordinating conjunction is almost always followed by *dat* 'that', oft, or the reduced form *'t*. This *'t* does not appear when the conjunction ends in *t*, however. An overview of the order of verbs in subordinate clauses is given in sec. 5.5.2.

Some subordinate clauses function like sentential adverbs (introduced by *no't, doe't, wylst, om't*, etc.). They enjoy much the same freedom of movement as other adverbs, and may thus be placed at the beginning of the independent sentence or at various places internally. When a subordinate clause opens a sentence (as in the first example below), it functions as the first element, causing the subject to be moved to directly behind the verb:

doe't Hinke yn 'e auto stapte, *rûn de motor al*
'when Hinke stepped into the car, the motor was already running'
it seil moat makke wurde ***foar't wy moarn sile***
'the sail must be repaired before we sail tomorrow'
hy fertelde, ***om't er der net foarwei koe,*** *de wierheid*
'he told, because he could not get out of it, the truth'.

5.3.3. Complementation and nominalization

5.3.3.1. The complementizer 'dat'

A sentence may function as a subject or object of a main verb. Independent clauses like *ik leau it* 'I believe it', *jo witte it* 'you know it', or *hja sizze it* 'they say it', all of which may take *it* (or some similar pronoun) as a complement, may also have an entire sentence as a direct object. The object sentence either has no complementizer and independent word order, or it is a subordinate clause introduced by *dat*:

ik leau, hy wint it moarn or:
ik leau dat er it moarn wint 'I believe that he will win tomorrow'
jo witte, Pyt yt gjin bûter or:
jo witte dat Pyt gjin bûter yt 'you know that Pete doesn't eat butter'
hja sizze, der hat in man op 'e moanne wenne or:
hja sizze dat der in man op 'e moanne wenne hat
'they say that a man used to live on the moon'

Like a simple noun, a sentential complement may be moved to the front of the sentence for emphasis:

dat Pyt gjin bûter yt, witte jo al lang
'that Pete eats no butter you have known for a long time'

A clause introduced by *dat* may also function as subject of a sentence:

dat dy jongkeardel studint is, fernuvert my
'that that young man is a student, puzzles me'
dat se hjir gjin harken ferkeapje, is wat frjemd
'that they don't sell any rakes here is somewhat strange'
dat Wytske gjin sinten hie, die juster bliken
'that Wytske had no money became evident yesterday'

By means of what is called *extraposition*, an *it* (which functions as a dummy) may be placed in the subject position and the subordinate clause moves to the end. This occurs mainly when the *dat* clause is the underlying subject:

it fernuvert my dat dy jongkeardel studint is
it is wat frjemd dat se hjir gjin harken ferkeapje
it die juster bliken dat Wytske gjin sinten hie

The sentential complement of some verbs can only appear in extraposed form, like *lykje* 'appear, seem': compare *it liket dat er heas is* 'it seems that he is hoarse' with the ungrammatical **dat er heas is, liket*. Sentences of this type (with *lykje* 'seem', *skine* 'appear', or *blike* 'turn out') may additionally be expressed as follows:

hy liket heas te wêzen 'he seems to be hoarse'
se bliek de hiele dei thús west te hawwen
'she turned out to have been home the whole day'

Also possible is for a *dat* clause to function as the object of a preposition. In this

event the preposition is put into a *der-* construction (sec. 4.5) and the *dat* clause follows directly:

ik oertsjûge him derfan, dat er better op bêd bliuwe koe
'I convinced him (of it) that he could better stay in bed'
Boate wiisde derop, dat it no al te let wie
'Boate pointed out that it was now already too late'

This is generally a property of verbs which are conventionally associated with a particular preposition, as are *wize op* 'point out' and *oertsjûgje fan* 'convince'.

NOTE: When the main verb of the sentence denotes a feeling, statement, or observation, and when it is a positive, factual sentence (without negation or modals in the matrix sentence), *dat* may optionally be followed by main clause word order:

ik sei dat er my sjoen hie
or: *ik sei dat hy hie my sjoen* 'I said that he had seen me'
ik leau dat se har wol rêde kin
or: *ik leau dat se kin har wol rêde* 'I believe that she can handle it'

Contrast the ungrammatical **ik leau net dat se kin har wol rêde*. This is a different *dat* from that which means 'so, therefore' (sec. 4.7.2), which also is followed by independent word order. On dependent clauses with independent word order, see further De Haan (1983, 1990a) and van der Meer (1988b).

The conjunction *oft* may also form sentential complements, where the *oft* carries the meaning of English "whether":

ik frege my ôf oft it wol wier wie 'I wondered if it was true'
se wist net oft soks mocht 'she didn't know whether such things were allowed'.

5.3.3.2. Gerunds

Under *gerunds* are understood any verb forms which consist of an infinitive with the ending *-n*. Infinitives which already terminate in *n* (*stean* 'stand', *gean* 'go', etc.) do not add another suffix. Such gerunds may function as verbs (with or without a preceding *te*), in which event they are very similar to infinitives; or as nouns, in which case they are true gerunds.

5.3.3.2.1. Gerunds as nouns

Any verb in the gerund form may function as a noun:

***silen** is moai wurk* 'sailing is nice work'
***sizzen** is neat, mar **dwaan** is in ding*
'saying is nothing, but doing is something'
*ik hâld fan **fiskjen*** 'I like fishing'

The gerund can be preceded by the article *it*. The *it* typically appears when a specific action or event is under discussion:

*nei **it melken** binne we klear* 'after the milking we are finished'
***it jaan** fan in earmbân oan syn mem wie in hiele ferrassing*
'the giving of a bracelet to his mother was quite a surprise'
***it brûken** fan fergif is hjir ferbean* 'the use of poison is forbidden here'

This type of gerund may have an object standing directly before it, creating a noun-plus-verb compound: *it tsiisiten* 'the eating of cheese'; *it weinmeitsjen* 'wagonmaking'. More often, the object is expressed in a *fan* phrase: *it meitsjen fan tsiis* 'the making of cheese', etc.

NOTE: Apart from 'external' arguments, which take the form of a post-nominal prepositional phrase (e.g. *it sjongen fan ferskes troch de famkes* 'the singing of songs by the girls'), gerunds may have 'internal' arguments (and adverbial modifiers), provided that they are introduced by a determiner (e.g. *dat lûd ferskes sjongen* 'that loud song-singing'). Instead of a gerund, a bare infinitive can sometimes be used as a noun (e.g. *sjongen/sjonge hâld ik net fan*). For full discussion of the properties of the various types of nominal infinitives, see de Haan (1986, 1992), Visser (1989), and Looyenga (1992). Noun incorporation in Frisian (as in *fuotfeie(n)* 'wip(ing) one's feet', etc.) is discussed in much detail in Dyk (1998).

5.3.3.2.2. The type 'wy hearre him fuortgean'

There is a variety of verbs referring to sensory perceptions (*hearre* 'hear', *sjen* 'see', *fiele* 'feel', etc.) which take sentential complements whose subject is not coreferential to that of the main clause (S1). The verb of the underlying embedded clause (S2) is in the gerund form:

ik hear har in ferske sjongen 'I hear her singing a song'
wy fielden it gebou skodzjen 'we felt the building shake'

This should not be confused with the use of the gerund outlined in section 5.3.3.2.1. The main difference between the two types is that this construction allows for complements to be expressed as such (*ik hear **har** sjongen*), while the other does not (*ik hear it sjongen **fan it famke***). The paraphrase of these sentences with *dat* clauses (*ik hear dat se sjongt*, for example) makes it evident that the underlying subject of S2 (*se*) has become the surface object of the main verb (*har*).

The verb *hawwe* may be used in a similar sense, but only when the subject of the second sentence is explicitly mentioned:

ik ha twa skiep yn 't lân rinnen 'I have two sheep walking in the field'
hy sei dat er dêr in hûs stean hie 'he said that he had a house standing there'

NOTE: In the northeast of the province this construction occurs with a gerund preceded by *te* (cf. Hoekema 1963). Compare *ik ha in bêste flesse wyn yn 'e kelder te lizzen* 'I have a fine bottle of wine lying in the cellar', which has a simple gerund *lizzen* in the other dialects.

5.3.3.2.3. The type 'ik bliuw lizzen'
The verbs *bliuwe* 'stay' and *gean* 'go' may enter into constructions with gerunds of the verbs *sitte* 'sit', *lizze* 'lie', *hingje* 'hang', *stean* 'stand', and a few others:

ik gean sitten 'I'm going to sit down'
ik gean efkes lizzen 'I'm going to lie down a little while'
ik bliuw stean 'I'll stay standing'
it bonkje bleau him yn 'e kiel stykjen 'the bone got stuck in his throat'

Komme 'come' enters into a similar relationship with a limited number of verbs, almost always verbs with separable prefixes: *hy kaam oanriden* 'he came riding up'. Incidentally, *gean* is not used (except rarely in the spoken language under Dutch influence) to indicate the future. One cannot say **wy gean itensieden* 'we are going to cook dinner'.

NOTE: On the aspectual (inchoative and durative) verbs *gean* and *bliuwe* and their infinitival complements (positional verbs taking the form of a gerund), see also van der Woude (1971).

5.3.3.2.4. The type 'ik gean te silen'
The verbs *gean* 'go', wêze 'be', *komme* 'come', *begjinne* 'begin', and *hearre* 'ought to' may all enter into constructions with *te* and a following gerund:

ik gean/bin te silen 'I'm (going) sailing (= on a sailing trip)'
doe begûn it bern te gûlen 'then the child began to cry'
do hearst soks net te dwaan 'you shouldn't do such things'
hy kaam te fallen 'he ended up falling'

The modal *doare* 'dare' optionally takes a following gerund with *te*: *ik doar him net oan te sjen* 'I don't dare look at him' (*ik doar him net oansjen* is also possible). See further sec. 5.1.11.

5.3.3.2.5. The type 'se sit te breidzjen'
Gerunds like *te breidzjen* in structures like *se sit te breidzjen* 'she sits knitting' have essentially a participial meaning. The main difference between *se sit breidzjende yn de stoel* and *se sit yn de stoel te breidzjen* (both meaning 'she sits knitting in the chair') seems to be the focus. With the true participle, which functions more as an adverb, the focus is on the main verb *sitte*. On the other hand, with the *te* construction, which has retained more of its verbal character, the knitting takes on a greater significance in comparison to the sitting, which is ancillary. Only a limited number of verbs permit the *te* stucture, including *sitte, rinne, stean, lizze* and *hingje*:

Sibe leit in boek te lêzen 'Sibe lies reading a book'
Rindert rint in ferske te sjongen 'Rindert walks singing a song'

NOTE: The construction positional verb + *te* + gerund can be used to render the progressive construction in English. As such it has a similar function as the construction *wêze* + *oan 't* + gerund (sec. 4.2.4.4.). Both of these progressive constructions are discussed in Ebert and Hoekstra (1996).

5.3.3.2.6. Predicative use of 'te' plus gerund
Often a gerund preceded by *te* is encountered in a predicative sense, usually following *wêze*:

dit is wol te iten 'this is edible'
dy planke is net te brûken 'that board is not usable'
de pleats is net te finen 'the farm is not to be found'
it is te hoopjen 'it is to be hoped'

These translate best as passive infinitives or as adjectives formed from verbs with *-able* or *-ible*.

NOTE: In de Haan (1987) and Hoekstra (1997, Ch. 4,5) a typology of *te*-infinitives (i.e. combinations of *te* + gerund) is developed. Hoekstra distinguishes four types of *te*-infinitives in Frisian: (i) verbal *te*-infinitives (e.g. those in the *om*-complements to be discussed below, in sec. 5.3.3.3.), (ii) adjectival *te*-infinitives (those discussed in this section), (iii) prepositional *te*-infinitives (as in the example *ik gean/bin* ***te silen*** 'I go/am sailing' in sec. 5.3.3.2.4.), and (iv) sentential *te*-infinitives (e.g. *hy holp my* ***te souderoprêden*** 'he helped me to tidy up the attic'). For full discussion of the defining properties of these four types, see the above-mentioned literature.

5.3.3.3. The complementizer 'om...te'
Whole sentences may function as subjects or verbal complements of other sentences. Such an embedded sentence is preceded by *om*, and the verb which would stand in second position (V1) of the embedded clause if it were independent, actually occurs at the end of V2 and is preceded by *te*:

hja frege ***om meigean te kinnen*** 'she asked to be able to go along'
om hjir te swimmen *is net ferstannich* 'to swim here is not advisable'

5.3.3.3.1. The type 'om fuort te gean is noflik'
A clause with the complementizer *om...te* may function as the subject of a sentence, as the following examples show:

om in boeresoan in horloazje te jaan *is in âld gebrûk*
'it is an old custom to give a farmer's son a watch'
om Jelle mei te nimmen *liket my wol aardich ta*
'to take Jelle along seems pleasant to me'
om op 'e moanne rinne te wollen *is net in ûnbegryplike winsk*
'to want to walk on the moon is not an incomprehensible wish'

Notice that with the above examples the nominalized sentence does not have a specified subject – it is assumed that the subject is anyone or someone. Nor can the subject be expressed in this type of construction; sentences like the English

for John to want to walk on the moon is not an incomprehensible wish are not possible in Frisian, at least when the subject is listed in the subordinate clause. When a potential agent is mentioned in the main clause, that agent is assumed to be the agent of the subordinate *om...te* clause as well: *om op 'e moanne te rinnen is neat foar Jan* 'walking on the moon is nothing for Jan'.

Like many *om...te* constructions, this one may be paraphrased by clauses introduced by the complementizer *dat*. The *dat* clauses require a subject, so with the sentence *om op 'e moanne rinne te wollen is net in ûnbegryplike winsk*, the unspecified subject must be overtly represented as *ien* 'someone' or the like: *dat ien op 'e moanne rinne wol is net in ûnbegryplike winsk*. Of course, *dat* clauses allow for a specific subject as well: *dat Jan op 'e moanne rinne wol* 'that John wants to walk on the moon'. And like the sentences with subordinate clauses introduced by *dat* in sec. 5.3.3.1 (where the *dat* clause is an underlying subject), these sentences may also undergo extraposition: *it is in âld gebrûk om in boeresoan in horloazje te jaan*; *it liket my aardich ta om Jelle mei te nimmen*. In fact, these extraposed sentences are preferred in ordinary discourse.

NOTE: When the *om...te* clause is at the beginning of this type of sentence, the complementizer may be omitted, with the verb in infinitive form: *Jelle mei nimme liket my wol aardich ta* or *in boeresoan in horloazje jaan is in âld gebrûk*.

5.3.3.3.2. The type 'wy besykje om fuort te gean'

Certain verbs, like *besykje* 'try', *leare* 'learn', *fan doel wêze* 'plan', *beslute* 'decide', and others, may take an *om...te* clause as an object. The subject of the subordinate *om...te* clause (S2), which must be coreferential with that of the main clause (S1), is not expressed:

Andries wie fan doel om oer de sleat te springen
'Andries intended to jump over the ditch'
hy besocht om de stjerren te sjen 'he tried to see the stars'
(S1: *hy besocht*; S2: *hy sjocht de stjerren*)

The condition that the subjects of S1 and S2 must be coreferential means that (for example, in the last sentence) the person who *tries* is the same as the person who *sees*. These sentences cannot be paraphrased by a *dat* clause.

5.3.3.3.3. The type 'wy beprate him om fuort te gean'

Other verbs allow for the underlying subject of S2 to be different from that of S1 (i.e., they do not have to be coreferential). The subject of S2 is the object of the main verb on the surface:

ik beprate him ***om op bêd te bliuwen*** 'I persuaded him to stay in bed'
(S1: *ik beprate him*; S2: *hy bliuwt op bêd*)
hja helle my oer ***om op de FNP te stimmen***
'she convinced me to vote for the FNP (Frisian National Party)'
Sjoerd twong himsels ***om wat langer te bliuwen***
'Sjoerd forced himself to stay a while longer'

In the last of the above examples, the subject of the main verb is cofererential to the object ("*Sjoerd twong Sjoerd*"), hence the second NP must be reflexive. Notice that the underlying subject of S2 and the object of S1 must be identical. Other verbs with this structure include *hite* 'order' (or *hjitte*), *helpe* 'help', *leare* 'teach', *freegje* 'ask', *warskôgje* 'warn', and *oanriede* 'advise'.

5.3.3.3.4. The type 'wy sizze him ta om fuort te gean'

Superficially similar to sentences like *wy beprate him om fuort te gean* are those with main verbs such as *tasizze* 'promise, concede', *ûnthjitte* 'promise', and *belove* 'promise', which have an indirect object and a sentential (*om...te*) direct object. Yet here the subject of S2, which is not expressed on the surface, must be interpreted as being identical to the *subject* of S1:

ik ûnthiet him ***om it lamke te ferkeapjen*** 'I promised him to sell the lamb'
(S1: *ik ûnthiet him*; S2: *ik ferkeapje it lamke*)

This may be paraphrased as *ik ûnthiet him dat ik it lamke ferkeapje soe*. These are like the verbs in sec. 5.3.3.3.2, but in addition take an indirect object.

5.3.3.4. The adverbial 'om...te' construction

Dependent clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunction *om* and containing the inflected verb in gerund form preceded by *te* are often used in Frisian to present a reason for something. They are usually best translated with 'in order to':

wy ha ferlet fan hout ***om in mole te bouwen***
'we need wood in order to build a windmill'
men moat in pols hawwe ***om te fierljeppen***
'one needs a stick in order to vault over canals'
it jonkje iet de spinaazje op ***om fan syn mem bûten te meien***
'the young boy ate his spinach in order to be let outside by his mother'

In contrast to structures with *te* in section 5.3.3.3, where the *om* may optionally be left out under certain conditions, the *om* is obligatory in this type of adverbial clause: *net libje om te iten, mar ite om te libjen* 'don't live to eat, but eat to live'. When there is a complex verb in S2, the underlying inflected verb, which is transformed into a gerund, comes at the very end of the clause: *ik yt in woartel* becomes *om in woartel te iten*; *ik ha in woartel iten* becomes *om in woartel iten te hawwen*; and *ik sil in woartel iten hawwe* is converted to *om in woartel iten hawwe te sillen*.

One also finds constructions of this sort following *wat* 'something', *in bytsje* 'a bit', *neat* 'nothing', and various nouns, but then often without the *om*:

de minsken hawwe neat te iten 'the people have nothing to eat'
yn Amearika is in soad te sjen 'in America there is a lot to see'

These do not present a reason for something as clearly as do the *om...te* construction, and they may be seen as types of relative clauses.

NOTE: It is perhaps best to regard the *om* in these adverbial constructions as a preposition, in contrast to the complementizer *om*.

5.3.3.5. The 'en' plus imperative construction

An interesting structure found in Frisian is the so-called *en* plus imperative construction, in which an independent clause is followed by *en*, directly after which is the verb in imperative form. Although identical on the surface, there is good reason to believe that there are two varieties of *en* plus imperative sentences.

One kind of such sentences involves a second conjunct which is equal to the first; in other words, *en* acts as a coordinating conjunction. A few examples:

hy sil wol ris by dy komme en nim myn papieren wer mei
'he will probably come by your place and take my papers along'
de polysje soe by him komme kinne en helje him op
'the police could come by him and pick him up'
Gerben soe in buske ferve keapje kinne en fervje lykwols syn tafel net
'Gerben could buy a pot of paint and still not paint his table'

All of the above sentences can be translated as two conjuncts joined together by *and*. They may be paraphrased by sentences in which two conjuncts with inflected verbs are joined by *en*: *hy sil wol ris by dy komme en (hy sil) myn papieren (wol ris) wer meinimme.*

This is not true of a different category of *en* plus imperative sentence, one which is superficially identical but which is better translated by *to* plus an infinitive or some other means besides *and*:

Jelle tocht der net oan en knip syn hier ôf
'Jelle didn't consider cutting his hair off'
Harmen hie de moed net en laitsje Sytse út
'Harmen didn't have courage to ridicule Sytse'
ik ried jo oan en drink net te folle kofje
'I advise you not to drink too much coffee'

Most of the sentences of this latter type may be paraphrased with an *om...te* construction: *Jelle tocht der net oan om syn hier ôf te knippen* or *Harmen hie de moed net om Sytse út te laitsjen.*

NOTE: This construction has been extensively studied, for example by De Haan (1990b), De Haan and Weerman (1985), De Waart (1971, 1972), Hoekema (1971, 1975), Hoekstra (1987), and Van der Meer (1972, 1975, 1989). In fact, many of the examples in this section are taken from De Waart (1972). The most problematic remaining unsolved issue is determining when an *en* plus imperative sentence may be used, since only certain of the coordinate sentences connected by *en* and subordinate clauses with *om...te* can be made into *en* plus imperative structures. One condition for the coordinating type is that the understood subject of the *en* plus

imperative clause must be identical to the subject of the first sentence. With the subordinate type this is not a necessity. The understood subject of the second conjunct must simply be identical to some noun, expressed or implied, in S1. In *ik ried jo oan en drink net te folle kofje*, the implied subject of S2 (understood *jo*) is coreferential to the object of the verb *oanriede* (*jo*). Additional conditions are listed in the articles referred to above. Other problems that have come up in the literature and that need further research are the status of the (formal) imperative in this construction, the status of the construction in terms of coordination and subordination, and the historical development of the construction in Frisian. The imperative in the *en* plus imperative developed from an infinitive historically. Frisian differs from other West Germanic dialects possessing this type of construction by (i) the change from infinitive to imperative, and (ii) the fact that it has developed a 'subordinating' type (the type that can be paraphrased by the *om...te* construction).

5.3.4. Relative clauses

5.3.4.1. Relativization of nouns

A relative clause describes or modifies the noun to which it refers. Placed directly behind the noun that it modifies, the clause is introduced by a relative pronoun – *dy't* if the noun is common, *dat* if it is neuter:

in frou ***dy't ik ken*** *is skilderes* 'a woman whom I know is a painter'
it hynder ***dat siik is*** *moat ferkocht wurde* 'the horse which is sick must be sold'
kinne jo de beam ***dy't giele blêden hat*** *sjen?* 'can you see the tree that has yellow leaves?'

Sometimes the relative clause does not appear directly behind the noun that it modifies, but rather following the V2:

kinne jo de beam sjen ***dy't giele blêden hat?***
ik wol in koekje ite ***dat krekt út 'e oven komt***
'I want to eat a cookie that has just come out of the oven'

This may also happen when one relative clause is embedded within another: *kinne jo de beam dy't de giele blêden dy't der ôffallen binne hie sjen?* 'can you see the tree that had yellow leaves which have fallen off' is changed by this process to *kinne jo de beam sjen dy't de giele blêden hie dy't der ôffallen binne?*

It is sometimes assumed that a sentence like *ik sjoch de man dy't op 'e dyk rint* 'I see the man who is walking on the road' comes from the two underlying sentences *ik sjoch de man* (S1) and *dy man rint op 'e dyk* (S2). The noun in S2, which must be coreferential to the noun being modified in S1, is deleted and replaced by the relative pronoun (and subordinating conjunction) *dy't* or *dat*, which must stand at the beginning of a relative clause. Nouns of any case may be relativized, as the dative *it famke* is in *dêr is it famke dat ik in blom joech* 'there is the girl (to) whom I gave a flower'.

An entire sentence may be the antecedent for, or be modified by, a relative

clause. In that event, *wat* is used as a relative pronoun: *se hat wurk fûn yn 't heger ûnderwiis, wat tsjintwurdich grif net tafalt* 'she found work in higher education, which is certainly not easy these days'.

5.3.4.2. Relativization of adverbials

When what is being relativized is an adverb of place (or a prepositional phrase functioning as an adverbial), the relative pronoun is *dêr't*: *oer dy brêge leit de pleats* ***dêr't*** *wy wenje* 'over that bridge lies the farm where we live'. The relative pronoun represents the entire prepositional phrase *yn dy pleats*. Like *where* in English, *dêr't* introduces only relative clauses that modify *adverbials* of place, not *nouns* of place. Compare *oer dy brêge leit de pleats* ***dy't*** *wy bewenje* 'over that bridge lies the farm which we live in', where the relative clause *dy't wy bewenje* modifies the noun phrase *de pleats*.

Relative clauses which modify adverbials of time are introduced by *doe't* or *dat*: *dat wie in simmer* ***doe't/dat*** *wy in soad rein hiene* 'that was a summer that we had a lot of rain'.

5.3.4.3. Relativization of prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases may also be relativized. When the object of the preposition is a person, the relativizer is the preposition followed by *wa* 'who'. The relativizer *dêr-* may also be used used with persons and is normal with non-human objects. The preposition that goes with it is usually stranded in its original position in S2; see the alternative sentences below. In any event, the relativizer, in its capacity as a subordinating conjunction, is followed by *'t*.

Sikkema is de boer ***by wa't*** *ik ûngetiidzje sil*
or: *...****dêr't*** *ik* ***by*** *ûngetiidzje sil*
'Sikkema is the farmer by whom I will harvest hay'
it is Wybren ***mei wa't*** *ik meastentiids aisykje*
or: *...****dêr't*** *ik meastentiids* ***mei*** *aisykje*
'it is Wybren with whom I usually go egg-seeking'
yn syn hân hold er in hammer, ***dêr't*** *er de spiker* ***mei*** *op 'e kop sloech*
'in his hand he held a hammer, with which he hit the nail on the head'

In the last sentence, *mei* is 'stranded' in the position where it would normally appear in S2: *hy sloech de spiker mei in hammer op 'e kop.*

5.3.4.4. Headless relatives

When a noun phrase being modified by a relative clause is unspecified (corresponding to English constructions with *whoever* or *whatever*), Frisian uses *dy't* for persons and *wat* for non-humans:

dy't in misdied docht, moat straft wurde
'whoever (or: any person who) commits a crime should be punished'
dy't soks liend wurdt, moat it fuort werom jaan
'whoever is lent something like that must return it immediately'

wat jo ek meinimme, it is my allegear bêst
'whatever you take along is fine with me'
wat men net te plak bringt, wurdt gau wei
'what you don't put away is soon lost'

In these sentences, *hy* or *hja/sy* is understood to be the noun modified by *dy't*, and *dat* is that modified by *wat*; these may optionally be expressed: *hy dy't* 'he who' or *dat wat* 'that which'.

NOTE: *Wa't* is also used in the sense of 'whoever': *wa't in misdied docht, moat straft wurde* 'whoever commits a crime should be punished'.

5.3.5. Participle constructions

The formation of present and past participles is outlined in section 4.2. The present participle is simply the gerund of the verb plus a *-d* suffix. The past participle, which is also used in building complex tenses, varies among the different verb types and is often irregular.

5.3.5.1. Constructions with the present participle

One of the major uses of the present participle is to describe an action which occurs simultaneously with that of the main verb, but is of lesser significance:

se rûn ***fluitsjend(e)*** *de dyk del*
'she walked down the road whistling'
laitsjend(e) *fytsten wy nei Lytsewierrum*
'laughing, we cycled to Lytsewierrum'
sels ***steand(e)*** *koe er it ûleboerd net beetpakke*
'even standing he could not grab hold of the *ûleboerd*'

Note that when these present participles function as adverbs, they normally take an *-e* ending.

Usually the participle comes at the very end of a participial phrase, following any complements:

de brêgewipper in kwartsje ***jaand(e)****, koenen wy fierder farre*
'giving the bridge watcher a quarter, we could sail on'
op syn teantsjes ***steand(e)*** *koe it bern it reedriden krekt sjen*
'standing on its toes, the child could barely see the skating'

As in English, a present participle may function as an adjective by modifying a noun: *in lêzende frou* 'a reading woman'; *it skriemende bern* 'the softly crying child'. Unlike English, though, the participle in these structures may be preceded by its complements:

de in boek ***lêzende*** *frou* 'the woman reading a book'

de op syn kop ***steande*** *jonge* 'the boy standing on his head'

NOTE: Most constructions of this type are rather literary; they tend to be avoided in conversational Frisian and are rare even in writing. Relative clauses are much preferred: *de frou dy't in boek siet te lêzen* 'the woman who sat reading a book', etc.

5.3.5.2. Past participles

Just like present participles, past participles may modify nouns. Unlike them, however, the past participle which modifies a noun is usually either one of the verbs which take *wêze* as an auxiliary (section 4.2.4.5), or it expresses a *passive* action. Contrast *de skriuwende faam* 'the writing maid', where the noun *faam* is the one doing the writing, with *de skreaune brief* 'the written letter', in which the letter has been written (by someone).

These differences in meaning aside, past participles may enter into constructions quite similar to those possible with present participles:

it papierke lei yn twaën ***skuord*** *yn 't jiskepantsje*
'the note lay torn in two in the ashtray'
de ***ferlerne*** *soan is wer thúskommen*
'the lost (prodigal) son has come home again'
de fleanmasine, om trije oere ***oankommen****, stie noch te wachtsjen*
'the airplane, having arrived at three o'clock, still stood waiting'
or: *de om trije oere* ***oankommen*** *fleanmasine stie noch te wachtsjen*
op 'en nij ***ferve*** *like de skuorre tsien jier jonger*
'freshly painted, the shed looked ten years younger'

Past participles may also precede the noun, as in English *the eaten cheese*. There is a strong tendency to prefer participles with prefixes or verbal particles when they function as adjectives, however: *de oanfrege fergunning* 'the applied-for permit' is better than *?de frege kopy* 'the requested copy'; *it werfûne bern* 'the found-back child' is better than *?it fûne bern* 'the found child'.

NOTE: One reason for the aversion to attributive 'bare' past participles is probably the fact that Frisian lacks the past participle prefix *ge-*. This makes past participles, especially those ending in *-e* and those in which the ending *-en* has fused with the stem, morphologically opaque. See De Haan and Hoekstra (1993).

5.4. Conditional and counterfactual statements

5.4.1. Counter-to-fact statements

Frisian has no subjunctive to give voice to conditional or counterfactual statements. Nonetheless, there are a variety of ways in which such statements may be made. One of the most common utilizes the preterite forms of verbs, or complex tenses based on the preterite forms of auxiliary verbs, where the finite verb is in first position:

hie ik dat mar witten 'had I but known that'
wiene se mar thús 'if they were only at home'
wie er dochs mar kommen, dan hiene we allegear byinoar wêze kinnen
'had he but come, then we could all have been together'

The counterfactual statements above may further be made with dependent clauses introduced by *as* (literary) or *at*:

as (at) ik dat mar witten hie
as (at) se mar thús wiene

For another counterfactual construction, see section 4.2.4.4.

5.4.2. Conditional statements

A conditional (*if... then*) statement is generally preceded by *at* or *as*. As opposed to counterfactual statements, the verb tense is in the future or present, rather than in the preterite:

atsto (asto) moarn komst*, (dan) sille wy wille hawwe*
'if you come tomorrow, (then) we will have fun'
at (as) de kat gers yt*, (dan) begjint it aansten te reinen*
'if the cat eats grass, it will soon begin to rain'
it hea droeget min, ***at (as) de sinne net skynt***
'the hay dries poorly if the sun doesn't shine'

The conjunction *at* or *as* may be left out of some of these clauses, in which case the sentences open with the condition and the verb is in first position:

komsto moarn*, dan sille wy wille hawwe*
yt de kat gers*, dan begjint it aansten te reinen*
skynt de sinne net*, dan droeget it hea min*

Another type of conditional statement consists of the condition, with no conjunction, as the second part of a sentence:

der moat in dokter by komme, sil er better wurde
'a doctor must come to him, if he is to become better'
wy moatte betiid fan bêd, wolle we moarnier te silen
'we must get out of bed early, if we are to go sailing tomorrow morning'

Unlike the previous *if...then* conditionals, which have the meaning *if X occurs, then Y will result*, these have the more restrictive meaning *X must first apply if Y, which we desire to occur, is to take place.*

5.4.3. Statements of volition

As opposed to counterfactual statements, which express the possibility that something could have happened but did not, statements of volition simply state the speaker's desire that some future event will occur. Often it is expressed with the verb *meie* 'may', and optionally introduced with the subordinating conjunction *dat*. These are especially common in prayers:

dat se net al te folle lije mei 'may she not suffer too much'
meie jimme hjir lang yn frede wenje 'may you live long here in peace'

NOTE: In archaic language, the remnant of a subjunctive of volition is sometimes encountered: *jins keninkryk komme* 'may your kingdom come'.

5.5. Overview of verbal word order in declarative sentences

5.5.1. Verb order in main clauses

The order of verbs in the main clause of a declarative sentence is essentially the same as in the citation form (see sec. 4.2.4). For example, the verb charts in section 4.2.4 list 'I will have mowed' as *ik sil meand hawwe*. The finite form of the verb (V1) must be in second position (sec. 5.1.3), hence *sil* is in second position in the sentence and the non-finite verbs (V2) come at the end of the clause. The example below illustrates that they are in the same order as in the citation form:

*ik **sil** moarn alles **meand hawwe*** 'tomorrow I will have mowed everything'

Even when preposing takes place, the general order of verbs remains the same:

*alles **sil** ik moarn **meand hawwe***

As a rough principle, every time that a verb is added to a sentence, the original finite verb (V1) moves to the end of the final verb complex (V2) and the new verb occupies the second position (V1):

*ik **kom** hjoed* 'I come today'
*ik **moat** hjoed **komme*** 'I must come today'
*ik **sil** hjoed komme **moatte*** 'I will have to come today'
*ik **hie** hjoed komme moatte **sillen*** 'I should have come today'

Subordinate constructions with *om...te* almost invariably follow the V2, as do many other subordinate clauses:

*ik ha ús soan stjoerd **om boadskippen te heljen***
'I sent our son to run some errands'

*ik bin fuort gongen **doe't wy klear wiene***
'I left when we were ready'

Some gerunds, either with or without *te*, come before the V2 complex. Compare *ik seach har **rinnen*** with *ik ha har **rinnen** sjoen* 'I saw her walking', where the gerund *rinnen* is located preceding the V2 if there is one. Other such constructions include:

bliuwe/komme/gean + gerund (sec. 5.3.3.2.3)
sjen/hearre/fiele, etc. + gerund (sec. 5.3.3.2.2)
wêze + *te* + gerund (sec. 5.3.3.2.6)
gean/wêze/komme + *te* + gerund (sec. 5.3.3.2.4)

In all the above, the gerund comes before all the elements of the V2 complex, as the examples below show:

*ik ha de hiele dei **sitten** bliuwe moatten* 'I had to remain sitting the whole day'
*it hat **te iten** west* 'it was edible'

Note that these gerunds have a close relationship to the main verbs and thus behave much like verbal prefixes.
Other gerunds, in contrast, come after the V2:

lykje/blike/skine + *te* + gerund (sec. 5.3.3.1)
lizze/sitte/rinne, etc. + *te* + gerund (sec. 5.3.3.2.5)
beginne/hearre, etc. + *te* + gerund (sec. 5.3.3.2.4)

Examples:
*it is juster begûn **te reinen*** 'it began to rain yesterday'
*hy hie soks net heard **te dwaan*** 'he shouldn't ought to have done that'

5.5.2. Verb order in dependent clauses

The basic rule in subordinate (dependent) clauses is that the V1 is located in a position directly behind the V2:

*ik **sil** dan komme* (independent) 'I will come then'
*...dat ik dan komme **sil*** (dependent) 'that I will come then'

Leaving aside a few conjunctions which may take either independent or dependent word order, this rule is consistently applied to all subordinate clauses where there is an expressed complementizer (for a list of subordinating conjunctions and some of their characteristics, see section 4.7.2).
The V2 and V1 in essence fuse into a single verb complex at the end of a dependent clause. The rules in section 5.5.1 regarding the position of gerunds in

relation to V2 still hold, but must be applied to the entire verb phrase (V2 plus directly following V1) in subordinate clauses. The examples below show the gerund before the verb complex:

*om't it **te iten** west hat* 'because it was edible'
*werom't ik de hiele dei **sitten** bliuwe moatten ha*
'why I have had to remain sitting the entire day'

Other gerunds follow the verb complex, just as they do in independent clauses:

*foar't it juster begûn is **te reinen*** 'before it began to rain yesterday'
*dat se sitten hat **te breidzjen*** 'that she sat knitting'

NOTE: There is an extensive literature on the verbal cluster in Frisian and on verbal word order, including De Haan (1992, 1993), Hoekstra (1990), Reuland (1990), and van der Woude (1974/1975).

A rather interesting, though generally unaccepted, change in verbal word order is found with younger speakers (mostly under 30 years). Roughly speaking, they reverse the verbs in the verbal cluster, which results in a word order that is in most respects similar to that in Dutch. They would, for example, say things like **...dat er dat hat dien* instead of *...dat er dat dien hat* '...that he has done that' and **ik haw it dy net hearre sizzen* instead of *ik haw it dy net sizzen heard* 'I haven't heard you saying that'. In the latter (Dutchified Frisian) example the past participle *heard* has been changed into the infinitive *hearre*. This so-called Infinitivus-pro-Participio Effect, which occurs in Dutch, but not normally in Frisian, seems to be triggered by the reversed verbal word order. Some discussion of the verbal cluster in Dutchified Frisian can be found in De Haan (1996b) and Wolf (1997).

5.6. *Intonation*

In a normal, non-contrastive sentence, most content words (full nouns, adjectives, and verbs) receive a greater degree of stress than the function words in the sentence:

ik ried mei heit nei it lân ta 'I rode to the field with father'

Durk en ik sille it seil fan de sylboat moarn meitsje
'Durk and I will repair the sail of the sailboat tomorrow'

Declarative sentences like those above end in a falling intonation. In order to accentuate this fall, the last content word typically receives a higher prominence, and the pitch and amplitude drop from there.

Although they are adverbs, words like *net* 'not', *noait* 'never', *altyd* 'always', and the emphatic particles *al* and *wol* often are given the same prominence that content words have.

As noted in section 2.3, one of the most important characteristics of separable prefixes is that they, in contrast to inseparable prefixes, bear primary stress. This extends to intonation also. The verbal particle, which stands towards the end of the clause, normally receives the greatest prominence in a declarative sentence, with the intonation falling afterwards:

ik leaude dat de hiele saak tafalle soe
'I believed that the whole affair would turn out better than expected'

hja bearde dat se meigean kinnen hie
'she boasted that she could have gone along'

Every content word is not automatically stressed – it must contribute new information to the meaning of the sentence:

Sjoerd wie fan doel om nei Drachten te gean
'Sjoerd planned to go to Drachten'

Once the destination *nei Drachten* is established, the fact that Sjoerd is going there is fairly predictable, hence *gean* (though a verb) receives no stress. Contrast this to:

Sjoerd wie fan doel om nei Drachten te krûpen
'Sjoerd planned to crawl to Drachten'

Unless Sjoerd has a reputation as an inveterate crawler, there is nothing predictable about the fact that he plans to crawl to Drachten, so *krûpen* is important (new) and thus stressable information.

Contrastive stress involves a greater amplitude and higher pitch when one thing is implicitly or explicitly contrasted to something else. Oftentimes words which

do not normally receive stress will attain greater prominence through contrastive stress:

net myn soan mar dines 'not my son but yours'

One characteristic of contrastive (as opposed to emphatic) stress is that when a word receives contrastive stress, there is a tendency for other stresses to be reduced. The reason for this is that the other information is usually already known

in the context of the discourse:

ik sil moarn mei Sytske nei it heamiel
'I will go to the *heamiel* with Sytske tomorrow'

What is implied here is that the listener seems to believe that the speaker will accompany someone else to the *heamiel,* and the speaker contrasts Sytske with that implied other person; none of the information besides Sytske is new, thus only Sytske (in contrast to someone else) receives contrastive stress, the other potential peaks of prominence being suppressed.

Contrastive stress accounts for an interesting difference in the intonation of restricted and non-restricted relative clauses:

myn nichtsje, dy't trije jier mei har man yn Burgum wenne hat...
'my cousin, who has lived in Burgum with her husband for three years...'

myn nichtsje dy't trije jier mei har man yn Burgum wenne hat...
'my cousin who has lived in Burgum with her husband for three years...'

The first example, a unrestricted relative clause, has fairly normal intonation, with some stress on the content words. The second, restricted, relative clause has what is quite similar to contrastive stress, as evidenced by the reduced stress on all but the last stressable element. The reason for this seems to be that the entire clause 'my cousin who has lived in Burgum with her husband for three years' is being implicitly contrasted to another cousin.

Yes-no questions are characterized by rising intonation on the last content word:

hawwe jo de tsjerke fan Boazum sjoen? 'have you seen the church of Boazum?'

docht mem de brêge no iepen? 'will you now open the bridge, mother?'

When an alternative follows the question, it has falling intonation:

komme jo no, of letter? 'are you coming now, or later?'

At times such alternatives are less questions than demands to choose between two alternatives. Rising intonation is not appropriate, then:

reint it, of net '(tell me) is it raining or not'

Specification questions have essentially declarative sentence intonation, since the presence of a question word (which usually receives stress) makes it quite evident that the sentence is a request for information:

hoefolle hawwe jo fan dit boek begrepen?
'how much of this book have you understood?'

NOTE: An exception to the rule that verbs (as content words) are stressed is that auxiliary verbs in any position, as well as all verbs in the V2 position, are often not stressed. The intonation of the Frisian sentence deserves more (contrastive) research. For some observations with respect to sentence stress on prepositions, see Hoekstra (1991).

TEXTS

Excerpt from 'De Besegeling' by Nyckle Haisma.

Born in Eastrum in 1907, Haisma spent much of his life in the Netherlands East Indies (now Indonesia) as a teacher, dying in 1943 in a Japanese concentration camp. This excerpt is from the anthology *Mei lange Trêdden*, edited by Ype Poortinga (Ljouwert, Algemiene Fryske Underrjocht Kommisje, 1974). Each line of text is accompanied by a phonetic transcription and a word-by-word translation. All texts in the former spelling (like this one) have been modified to that which is currently in use.

Berne en opgroeid yn Ynje, sil dêr syn grêf wêze.
[bɛnə n̩ obgruit in ĩjə, sɩl dɛ:r siŋ grɛ:v vɛ:zə.]
Born and raised in India, will there his grave be.

Syn Heitelân. Ien grutte emoasje út syn libben stiet him
[sin haitəlɔ:n. iəŋ grøtə e:moəsjə yt sĩ lɩbm̩ stiət əm]
His fatherland. One great emotion from his life stands him

klear foar eagen. It frjemde lân, it lân fan Heit, en
[klɩər fwarɩəγən. ət frjɛmdə lɔ:n, ət lɔ̃: fɔn hait, n̩]
clearly before eyes. The strange land, the land of father, and

noch ien, dat fan Mem. Fan Heit: Fryslân, fan Mem: Noarwegen.
[nɔγ iən, dɔt fɔm mɛm. fɔn hait: frislɔ:n, fɔm mɛm: noəve:γən.]
another one, that of mother. Of father: Friesland, of mother: Norway.

Tsien jier wie er, Heit gie mei ferlof, en beide lannen
[tsiən iər viə dr̩, hait giə mai fəlɔf, ɛm baidə lɔnn̩]
Ten years was he, father went on leave, and both lands

hat er sjoen. Fryslân yn maitiidspracht, wylst de sinne skynde
[hat r̩ sjuən. frislɔ:n im maiti:tspraxt, vilst tə sɩnə skində]
has he seen. Friesland in spring-splendor, whilst the sun shone

oer de marren en de wide greiden mei fee. Noarwegen, doe't
[uə də marn̩ ɛn də vi:də graidn̩ mai fe:. noəve:γən, dut]
over the lakes and the wide pastures with cattle. Norway, when

de hege sinne dreamde yn 'e fjorden. Hoe djip is dat alles
[də he:γə sɩnə drɩəmdə in ə fjɔrdn̩. hu djɩp ɩ dɔt ɔləz]
the high sun dreamed in the fjords. How deeply is that all

net fêst set yn syn siel. Heite en Memme lân. Mar sines?
[nɛt fɛ:st sɛt ĩ sĩ siəl. haitə ɛm mɛmə lɔ:n. ma sinəs?]
not fast set in his soul. Father's and mother's land. But his?

Hy hat der nea werom west.
[hɛi hat dr̩ nɩə vərom vɛst.]
He has there never back been.

NOTE: *Ynje* refers to the Netherlands East Indies, now the Republic of Indonesia.

Excerpt from the Bible

The following, taken from Genesis, chapter seven, is part of a recent Frisian Bible translation, published in 1978 by the Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap (Amsterdam-Boxtel). The translations for the rest of the excerpts are less literal and thus more idiomatic than the Haisma piece.

De Heare sei tsjin Noäch: Gean do mei al dyn húshâlding yn 'e arke, want Ik haw sjoen datsto ûnder de minsken fan no ien bist dy't yn Myn wegen giet. Fan al it reine fee moatst sân pear, in mantsje en syn wyfke, nimme, mar fan it ûnreine fee ien pear, hieltiten in mantsje en syn wyfke. Ek fan 'e fûgels yn 'e loft moatst sân pear nimme, hieltiten in mantsje en in wyfke, dat har soarte op 'e hiele ierde yn wêzen bliuwe sil. Want noch sân dagen en dan sil Ik fjirtich dagen en nachten lang op 'e ierde reine litte en alles dat op ierde bestiet en dat Ik makke haw, sil Ik fan 'e ierdboaiem ôffeie.

Translation:

The Lord said to Noah: go with all your household into the ark, because I have seen that among the people of the present you are one who follows My ways. Of all the pure cattle you must take seven pairs, a male and his female, but of the impure one pair, always a male and his female. Also, of the birds of the air you must take seven pairs, always a male and a female, so that their species will remain in existence over all the earth. For only seven more days and I will make it rain on earth for forty days and nights and everything that exists on earth and which I have made, I will sweep from the face of the earth.

Excerpt from 'Wêr hast west, Kei?', by Tiny Mulder

Mulder is a journalist and writer who was born in 1921 in Beestersweach. She is known especially for her children's stories and her translations into Frisian. This short selection is taken from the anthology *Mei lange Trêdden*.

Der wie ris in man, dy't op in jûn nei it stasjonspostkantoar fytste om in brief yn de bus te dwaan foar de lêste lichting fan ketier foar njoggenen. It wie in belangryk brief, dat de man hie alle reden om dit útstapke te meitsjen. "Ik bin fuort werom," sei er tsjin syn frou. It waard lykwols alve oere foardat er

weromkaam, wylst it ein fan it stasjon nei syn hûs yn amper tsien minuten te befytsen wie.

"Wêr hast salang west," sei de frou, dy't wy Nynke neame sille, om't hja tritich, lyts en ljocht wie. Hja hie freonlik freegje moatten, mar dat die hja net. Hja ferkearde yn oarlochsstimming. Kommando: Fjûr!: "Wêr hast west!"

De man sei: "Njoggen jier haw ik mei dy troud west, ik haw dy oant myn dea ta trou beloofd. Oer twa oeren fan dy tsientûzenen hoech ik dy gjin rekkenskip te jaan. Mei ik kofje?" Fan dit stuit ôf sille wy de man Kei neame, om't er trije en tritich, foars en ljocht wie, en om't syn frou him Gerry neamde.

Translation:

There was once a man, who cycled to the train station post office one evening to put a letter into the mailbox before the last pickup at quarter to nine. It was an important letter, so the man had every reason to make this trip. "I'll be right back," he said to his wife. Still, it was eleven o'clock before he returned, while the distance from his house to the station could be cycled in scarcely ten minutes.

"Where have you been so long," said the woman, whom we will call Nynke, because she was thirty, small and light. She should have asked in a friendly manner, but that she didn't do. She was in a mood for war. Command: Fire!: "Where have you been!"

The man said: "I've been married to you for nine years, and I've promised you faithfulness until my death. For two hours of those tens of thousands I do not have to give you an account. May I have some coffee?" From this moment on, we will call the man Kei, because he was thirty-three, large and light, and because his wife called him Gerry.

NOTE: *...dat de man hie alle reden*: observe the main clause word order after *dat*; in this usage it means 'thus' or 'so that'. *Befytse* is a transitive verb, in contrast to the intransitive *fytse* 'cycle'. *Mei ik kofje* 'may I have coffee': often the verb *hawwe* is left out in constructions of this kind.

Excerpt from 'It Fabryk' by Trinus Riemersma

It Fabryk is one of the better-known novels by Riemersma, who was born in Ferwerd in 1938. The book originally appeared in 1964 (Ljouwert: Miedema and Co.).

Doe't ik it fabryksterrein oprinne soe, moast ik útwike foar in bestelwein. Ik stapte fansiden. Ferhip, it wie gjin bestelwein, mar in ambulance-auto. Der lei ien yn, ik koe net sjen wa't it wie. By de lorry stienen Sybesma en noch in pear fan ús ploech. Ik gyng op harren ta, mar ik hoegde neat te freegjen.

"Fan der Mear," sei ien.

"Wat is der mei him?"

"Fan de trep fallen."

"Jakkes. Net sa bêst. Wat stikken?"

"Dat sil 't wol."

"Ha jo him sjoen?" frege Sybesma.

"Ik kaam út de stalling wei doe't se him foarbysjouden. Bloed oan 'e kop. Bûten westen, fansels, hen."

Wy strûpten de overal oan en gyngen nei de masine. De manlju dêre wisten net folle mear as wy. It moast likernôch in healoere lyn bard wêze, mar hoe en wat, nee. Hy soe wol útgliden wêze. Wat te hastich by de trep del, tink. Gyng er by de trep del? No ja, miskien der ek wol by op.

Fan der Mear, hy soe ommers fuort, en no sa. Ik seach oer de masine nei de draaitrep. It ding wie in fjirdel meter heech, as er hielendal fan boppen kommen wie, koed er ek wol dea weze. Miskien wied er yntusken al stoarn. Ik besocht my foar te stellen hoe't it om en ta gien wie. Faaks hied er it ien of oar nei boppen bringe sillen. Hy sjoude it omheech, wie hast boppe, en glied út. Hy joech in skreau, mar hy hie him better fêstpakke kinnen. Hy hie it doaske falle litte moatten en de leuning pakke. Mar nee, hoe is men dan. Men kin net mear tinke, men wit net wat men docht, men pakt wat foarhannen is. Krekt as wannear't der brân is. Men tinkt: myn portefeuille, it jild en de papieren. Gau, gau, derút. It baarnt as swevel, alles baarnt plat. Mar lokkich, ik ha de portefeuille meisnipt. En wat hat men yn 'e hân? De krante fan juster!

Translation:

As I was about to walk onto the factory grounds, I had to move out of the way for a delivery truck. I moved aside. Darn, it wasn't a delivery truck, but an ambulance. Someone lay in it; I couldn't see who it was. By the lorry stood Sybesma and a few others from our group. I went up to them, but I didn't have to ask anything.

"Fan der Mear," said someone.

"What happened to him?"

"Fell off the stairs."

"Ugh. Not so good. Something broken?"

"Probably."

"Did you see him?" Sybesma asked.

"I was coming out of the bicycle shed when they took him past. Blood on his head. Unconscious, of course."

"We pulled our overalls on and went to the machine. The men there did not know much more than we. It must have happened about half an hour ago, but how and what, no. He must have slipped. Went down the stairs a bit too fast, I think. Was he going down the stairs? Well, maybe he was going up.

Fan der Mear, he was going to leave, and now this. I looked over the machine to the spiral staircase. The thing was three and a half meters high; if he had come down all the way from the top, he might well be dead. Perhaps he had already died in the meantime. I tried to imagine how it had all happened. Perhaps he had to take something or other upstairs. He carried it up, was almost upstairs, and slipped. He gave a cry, but he would have been better off grabbing ahold of something. He should have let the box fall and grasped the railing. But no, what do you do then? You can't think anymore, you don't know what you're doing, you grab what's there. Just as when there's fire. You think: my wallet, the money

and the papers. Quick, quick, get out. It's burning like sulphur, it's all going to burn down. But luckily I brought along my wallet. And what do you have in your hand? Yesterday's newspaper!

NOTES: *Oprinne* 'walk onto' is a transitive verb with separable prefix. *Wat is der mei?* means 'what's wrong' or 'what's happening'. *Bloed oan 'e kop*: in Frisian there are different names for the body parts of animals and people. A leg is referred to as *foet* for people and as *poat* for animals, just as 'head' is *holle* or *kop*, respectively. The animal forms are sometimes used colloquially for people, however, as occurs here. Note also that the body part is here modified by an article *(de)* instead of a possessive pronoun *(syn)*. This is quite common in Frisian in situations where it is obvious who the possessor is. *Wy strûpten de overal oan*: in English *overal* must be translated in this case in the plural as *overalls*. *In healoere lyn*: *lyn* 'ago' (or its variant *ferlyn*) follows the time specified, as in *twa dagen ferlyn* 'two days ago'. *Tink* is the usual pronunciation for *tink ik* or *tink 'k*. *Foarstelle* 'imagine' is inherently reflexive: *Ik stel my foar* 'I imagine'. *Gau, gau, derút*: as is done here, *gean* 'go' is often omitted when it is predictable from the context.

Excerpt fan 'It fleanend Skip', edited by Ype Poortinga

Before the advent of television and other means of mass communication, storytelling was widely practiced in Friesland, as indeed it was (and is) throughout much of the world. The following is one of these traditional tales, collected from a master storyteller by Ype Poortinga (Ljouwert, De Tille, 1977).

It Boekje fan de Dea
In jongkeardel út Garyp arbeide by in boer yn Eastermar. Syn faam kaam fan Sumar en hy lei yn 'e kost by har âlden. It wie in baas reedrider en as it heal koe gong er op redens nei 't wurk. Op in kear ried er wer oer iis nei de pleats en doe seach er op 'e Lits de dea oan 'e kant stean. Dy stiek syn bonkige hân yn 'e hichte en woe him oanhâlde, mar de feint stode sa hurd as er koe foarby en kaam efter de pûst en feralterearre op 'e pleats oan. Hy fertelde de boer dat er de dea stean sjoen hie en dat dy oan him wonken hie – in teken dat er ferdrinke soe. Hy frege om in hynder, want hy woe daalk oer de hurde wei nei hûs – de dea hie him samar net te pakken. Hy krige it hynder en sette ôf.

De boer woe witte wat hjir fan oan wie. Hy bûn de redens ûnder en ried nei de Lits: de dea stie der noch, dat de boer sette de redens dwers en frege him oft er oan syn feint wonken hie om him mei te nimmen. De dea skodholle en sei: "Nee, ik woe him net meinimme – ik woe him freegje hoe't er hjir op redens foarbykomme koe, wylst yn myn boekje stiet dat er om dizze tiid by Sumar fan 't hynder falle en de nekke brekke sil.

Translation:

A young fellow from Garyp worked for a farmer in Eastermar. His girlfriend came from Sumar and he boarded by her parents. He was an excellent skater and if it was at all possible he went to work on skates. One time he was skating over the ice to the farm and then on the Lits he saw death standing on the side. Death

stuck his boney hand into the air and wanted to stop him, but the young man rushed past as fast as he could and arrived at the farm out of breath and terrified. He told the farmer that he had seen death standing and that he had beckoned to him – a sign that he would drown. He asked for a horse, because he immediately wanted to return home via the hardened road – death would not get him that easily! He took a horse and set off.

The farmer wanted to know what was going on. He tied his skates on and skated to the Lits. Death was still standing there, so the farmer stopped and asked him if he had beckoned to his helper to take him along. Death shook his head and said: "No, I didn't want to take him along – I wanted to ask him how he could skate past here, while in my book it says that around this time he'll fall from his horse near Sumar and break his neck."

NOTE: *Dy stiek* 'he stuck'; it is quite common for a demonstrative pronoun to be used as a noun, as it is here. *De dea*: notice that, although personified, abstract nouns like *dea* 'death' usually take an article in Frisian. *Hy bûn de redens ûnder*: Frisian skates are fastened under the shoes or boots by means of leather straps, hence 'he tied the skates under'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list contains works referred to in the text and others relevant to the study of standard Frisian and West Frisian dialects.

Anglade, J. 1966. *Petit manuel de frison modern de l'ouest*. Groningen: Wolters.

Århammar, Nils. 1968. Friesische Dialektologie. *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung*. Beiheft, Neue Folge 5, 264-317.

—. 1975. Historisch-soziolinguistische Aspekte der nordfriesischen Mehrsprachigkeit. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 42: 129-45.

—, and Teake Hoekema (eds.). 1979. *Scripta Frisica. Tinkbondel foar Arne Spenter*. Groningen: Frysk Ynstitút oan de Ryksuniversiteit to Grins.

—, Ph.H. Breuker, F. Dam, A. Dykstra, and T.J. Steenmeijer-Wielenga (eds.). 1984. *Miscellanea Frisica. In nije bondel Fryske stúdzjes*. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Boelens, Krine. 1952. Hwannear wurdt de skreaune *r* yn it Frysk útsprutsen? *Us Wurk* 1: 45-48, 59-64.

—. 1953. Dy stomme *r*! *Us Wurk* 2: 55-59.

—. 1976. *Frisian-Dutch bilingual primary schools*. The Hague: Ministry of Education.

—. 1980. Wat oer de brekking yn it Mitselwierster Frysk sûnt 1900. In *Coulonnade: Twa-en-tweintich FAriaasjes, oanbean oan mr. dr. K. de Vries*, ed. by Ph. H. Breuker *et al*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

—. 1987. Child language acquisition as an indicator of language change in the community: Frisian breaking. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 64: 95-106.

—, and G. van der Woude. 1955. *Dialect-atlas van Friesland*. E. Blancquaert and W. Pee (eds.), Reeks Nederlandse Dialect-atlassen 15. Antwerp: De Sikkel.

—, A. Feitsma, L. Pietersen, R. Straatsma, G.H. Vledder, and K. Zondag. 1981. *Twataligens*. Ljouwert: Algemiene Fryske Underrjocht Kommisje.

—, and J. Ytsma. 1989. Bern en brekking. In ûndersyk nei taalwinning en taalferoaring. *It Beaken* 51: 103-114.

Boersma, J. 1978. *De Fryske stavering*. Ljouwert: Algemiene Fryske Underrjocht Kommisje.

Booij, G.E. 1988. On the representation of diphthongs in Frisian. *Journal of Linguistics* 25: 319-332.

Breuker, Pieter. 1979. De takomst fan it Frysk: standerdisearje of fierder forhollânskje? In Århammar and Hoekema (1979): 51-64.

—. 1982. Ta de oergong *ke* > *tsje* yn it ferlytsingswurd. *It Beaken* 44: 85-95.

—. 1989/1990. Taalideology, taalnoarm en taalsimplisme. *Us Wurk* 38: 65-94; 39: 105-143.

Buma, W.J., F. van Coetsem, A. Feitsma, T. Hoekema, and Y. Poortinga (eds.). 1969. *Nei wider kimen*. Groningen: Wolters.

Buwalda, H.S., G. Meerburg, and Y. Poortinga. 1952, 1956. *Frysk Wurdboek* (Nederlânsk-Frysk and Frysk-Nederlânsk). Boalsert: Osinga.

Cohen, A., C.L. Ebeling, K. Fokkema, and A.G.F. van Holk. 1972. *Fonologie van het Nederlands en het Fries*. The Hague: Nijhoff.

Colmjon, G. 1863. *Beknopte Friesche spraakkunst voor den tegenwoordigen tijd*. Leeuwarden: Kuipers.

de Boer, Bernardus. 1950. *Studie over het dialect van Hindeloopen*. Teksten en Studien XII. Assen: Van Gorcum.

de Bruijn, Ph. 1979. Restricties op de vorming van substantieven op *-ens*. In Århammar and Hoekema (1979): 69-72.

de Graaf, Tjeerd, and Gerrit Meinsma. 1980. De brekking fan de sintralisearjende twalûden yn it Frysk. *Us Wurk* 29: 131.

—, and Peter Tiersma. 1980. Some phonetic aspects of breaking in West Frisian. *Phonetica* 37: 109-20.

de Haan, Germen J. 1983. The position of the finite verb in Modern West Frisian. *Friserstudier III*, ed. by N. Danielsen *et al.*, 37-48. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag.

—. 1986. Frysk prate en praten. *Tydskrift foar Fryske Taalkunde* 2: 1-11.

—. 1987. De syntacticus als frisist. In *Ta de Fryske syntaksis*, ed. by Siebren Dyk and Jarich Hoekstra, 57-80. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

—. 1988. Nasalearring en rekking yn it Frysk. In De Haan and Dyk (1988): 45-59.

—. 1990a. Hoofd- en bijzinnen: Traditie en progressie. In *Traditie en Progressie. Handelingen van het 40ste Nederlands Filologencongres*, 203-213. 's-Gravenhage: SDU.

—. 1990b. De Friese Imperativus-Pro-Infinitivo. *Taal en Tongval* 42: 87-107.

—. 1992. The verbal complex in Frisian. *Us Wurk* 41: 59-92.

—. 1993. The Third Construction in Frisian. In *Dialektsyntax*, ed. by Werner Abraham and Josef Bayer, 117-139. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

—. 1994. Inflection and cliticization in Frisian: *-sto*, *-ste*, *-st*. *NOWELE* 23: 75-90.

—. 1996a. Recent changes in the verbal complex of Frisian. In Petersen and Nielsen (1996): 171-184.

—. 1996b. Over de (in-)stabiliteit van het Fries. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 1: 306-319. (Review of Gorter and Jonkman (1995)).

—, and S. Dyk (eds.). 1988. *Wurdfoarried en wurdgrammatika. In bondel leksikale stúdzjes*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

—, and F. Weerman. 1985. Finiteness and Verb Fronting in Frisian. In *Verb second phenomena in Germanic languages*, ed. by H. Haider and M. Prinzhorn, 77-110. Dordrecht: Foris.

de Haan, Rienk, and Jarich Hoekstra. 1993. Morfologyske tûkelteammen by de leksikale útwreiding fan it Frysk. *It Beaken* 55: 14-31.

de Waart, A.A.J. 1971. Constructies met *en* + "imperatiefzin" in het moderne Westerlauwerse Fries. *Stúdzjekonferinsje Frysk*.

—. 1972. Twee aspecten van de friese imperativus pro infinitivo: "saamhorigheid" en "content phrases". Addendum to *Stúdzjekonferinsje Frysk*.

Dyk, Siebren. 1987. Oer syllabisearring. *Co-Frisica* III: 117-141.

—. 1996. From inflected material adjectives to the history of schwa apocope in West Frisian: Diverging influences on a sound change. In Petersen and Nielsen (1996): 55-67.

—. 1998. *Noun incorporation in Frisian*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

Dykstra, Anne. 1984. 'In wollen tekken' en 'de graniten toanbank': oer de bûging fan stoflike adjektiven op *-en*. In Århammar *et al.* (1984): 183-191.

—. To appear. Frysk–Ingelsk wurdboek/Frisian–English Dictionary.

Dykstra, F.B. 1992. *Stavering*. Ljouwert: Algemiene Fryske ûnderrjocht Kommisje.

Dykstra, Klaas, K. Heeroma, W. Kok, and H.T.J. Miedema (eds.). 1960. *Fryske stúdzjes oanbean oan Prof. Dr. J.H. Brouwer*. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Ebert, Karen H., and Jarich Hoekstra. 1996. The progressive in West Frisian and North Frisian - similarities and areal differences. In Petersen and Nielsen (1996): 81-101.

Eijkman, L.P.H. 1907. *Description phonétique des sons de la langue frisonne parlée à Grouw*. Haarlem: Teyler Museum.

—. 1913. *Phonetische beschrijving van de klanken der Hindeloopsche taal.*

—. 1925. *Phonetische beschrijving der klanken der Schiermonnikoogse taal.* Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, nieuwe reeks, deel 25,1.

Eisma, D. 1989. *Tiidwurden*. Ljouwert: Algemiene Fryske ûnderrjocht Kommisje.

Feitsma, A. 1958. Om in nije stavering. *Us Wurk* 7: 34-9, 86-90.

—. 1981. Why and how do the Frisian language and identity continue? In *Minority languages today*, ed. by Einar Haugen *et al.*, 167-77. Edinburgh: University Press.

Feitsma, S.K. 1902. *De vlugge Fries. Handleiding om zonder onderwijzer in korten tijd Friesch te leeren lezen, schrijven en spreken*. Kampen: Zalsman.

Fokkema, D. 1969. *Beknopte spraakkunst van het Schiermonnikoogs*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

Fokkema, K. 1944. De nominatief *jo* een interne Friese ontwikkeling. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 62: 104-15.

—. 1959a. De consonanten en klinkerphonemen in het Fries. *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 27: 49-63.

—. 1959b. Phonologia Frisica. *Phonetica* 4: 37-42.

—. 1966. The Frisian phonemes /f/, /v/, and /w/. *Phonetica* 14: 129-37.

—. 1967. *Beknopte Friese spraakkunst*. Groningen: Wolters.

—. 1968. De historie van enkele pronomina in het westerlauwers Fries. In *Philologia Frisica anno 1968*, 43-48. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

Gorter, Durk. 1981. Some recent developments in official language planning in Friesland. In *Minority languages today*, ed. by Einar Haugen *et al.* Edinburgh: University Press.

—, Gjalt H. Jelsma, Pieter H. van der Plank, and Klaas de Vos. 1984. *Taal yn Fryslân: Undersyk nei taalgedrach en taalhâlding yn Fryslân*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

—, and Reitze Jonkman. 1995. *Taal yn Fryslân op 'e nij besjoen*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

Hiemstra, Inge. 1986. Some aspects of Wh-questions in Frisian. *NOWELE* 8: 97-110.

Hoekema, Teake. 1954. Over de Friese consonantverbindingen, vooral die met *r*. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 44: 134-41.

—. 1955. 'Gereer en gejeuzel hek 'n grote hèkel an'. Een algemeen-germaanse constructie. *Driemaandelijkse Bladen* 15: 72-76.

—. 1958. Ta it forlytsingswurd. *Us Wurk* 14: 62-8.

—. 1963. Drie syntagmen uit oostelijk Friesland. *Driemaandelijkse Bladen* 15: 72-76.

Hoekstra, Jarich. 1985. *t*-Deletion before suffix-initial *st* in Modern West Frisian. *NOWELE* 5: 63-76.

—. 1987. 'Verb Second' en de 'imperativus pro infinitivo' in het Fries. *TABU* 17: 96-121.

—. 1989a. Ta Gysbert Japicx *kryet, krie't* (3 sg. praes. fan *krite*). *Us Wurk* 38: 127-134.

—. 1989b. Bywurden fan tiid op *-s*. *Tydskrift foar Fryske Taalkunde* 5: 1-32.

—. 1990. Trijetiidwurdkonstruksjes. *It Beaken* 52: 59-95.

—. 1991. Oer it beklamjen fan ferhâldingswurden yn it Frysk, it Hollânsk en it Ingelsk. *Us Wurk* 40: 67-103.

—. 1992. *In dei of trije*: tusken leksikon en syntaksis. In *Philologia Frisica anno 1990*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

—. 1994a. Pronouns and case. On the distribution of Frisian *harren* and *se* 'them'. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 83: 47-65.

—. 1994b. In nijsgjirrige folchoarderbeheining yn it Frysk en it spjalten fan foarnamwurdlike bywurden. In *Philologia Frisica Anno 1993*, 104-121. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

—. 1995. Preposition stranding and resumptivity in West Germanic. In *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*, ed. by Hubert Haider, Susan Olsen and Sten Vikner [= Studies in Natural Language & Linguistic Theory, Volume 31], 95-118. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

—. 1997. *The syntax of infinitives in Frisian*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

—. 1998. *Fryske wurdfoarming*. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

—, and László Marácz. 1989a. Some implications of I-to-C-movement in Frisian. In H. Bennis and A. van Kemenade (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1989*, 81-90. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

— , and László Marácz. 1989b. On the position of inflection in West-Germanic. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 44: 75-88.

—, and Peter Tiersma. 1994. Frisian. In *The Germanic Languages*, ed. by Johan van der Auwera and Ekkehard König, 505. London: Routledge.

— , and Willem Visser. 1996. *De-* en *it*-wurden yn it Frysk. *Us Wurk* 45: 55-78.

Hof, Jan Jelles. 1933. *Friesche dialectgeographie*. Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche dialectbibliotheek III. The Hague: Nijhoff.

Kloosterman, Pieter. 1907. *Het vocalisme der beklemtoonde lettergrepen van den Metslawierschen tongval, historisch uiteengezet*. Groningen: Wolters.

Knop, Gerrit. 1954. *De spraakkunst der Terschellinger dialecten*. Taalkundige bijdragen van noord en zuid VI. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Krol, Jelle. 1985. It pronomen *men* yn it skreaune Frysk oant 1950. *Us Wurk* 34: 1-36.

Looyenga, S. 1992. On nominal infinitives in Frisian. In *Language and Cognition 2. Yearbook 1992 of the research group for Linguistic Theory and Knowledge Representation of the University of Groningen*, 227-240.

Markey, T.L. 1975. West Frisian *-wV-/-jV-* breaking: a generative approach. *Folia Linguistica* 7: 181-208.

—. 1981. *Frisian*. Trends in Linguistics, State–of–the–Art Reports 13. The Hague: Mouton.

Meijering, Henk. 1980. *d(e)*-deletion in the past tense of the class II weak verbs in Old Frisian. In *Linguistic studies offered to Berthe Siertsema*, ed. by D.J. van Alkemade *et al.*, 277-286. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Meinsma, Gerrit, and Tjeerd de Graaf. 1978. Ien lûd, twa lûden, twalûden - oanrin ta in fonetyske stúdzje. *Us Wurk* 27: 81-88.

Miedema, H.T.J. 1958. De Nieuwfriese "breking" en zijn verspreiding. *Taal en Tongval* 10: 148-56.
Petersen, Adeline, and Hans F. Nielsen (eds.). 1996. *A Frisian and Germanic Miscellany. Published in Honour of Nils Århammar on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, 7 Aug. 1996*. Odense: Odense University Press/Bredstedt: Nordfriisk Instituut.
Pietersen, Lieuwe. 1969. *De Friezen en hun taal*. Drachten: Laverman.
Popkema, J. 1979. As alle assen ien as wiene. *It Beaken* 41: 259-90.
Postma, G., and P. de Clercq. 1904. *Lytse Fryske spraekleare it Westerlauwersk om 1900 oangeande*. Ljouwert: R. van der Velde.
Ramat, Paolo. 1967. *Il Frisone*. Florence: Sansoni.
Reuland, Eric. 1979. *Principles of subordination and construal in the grammar of Dutch*. Groningen: Dykstra-Niemeyer.
—. 1990. Infinitieven in het Fries en de aard van functionele categorieën. *Interdisciplinair Tijdschrift voor Taal- & Tekstwetenschap* 9: 287-309.
Riemersma, Trinus. 1979. *Sylabysjerring, nazzeljerring, assymyljerring*. Ljouwert: Koperative Utjowerij.
Roggen, C. 1976. *Aasters. Dialect Oostterschelling*. Ljouwert: Algemiene Fryske Underrjocht Kommisje.
Siebs, Theodor. 1889. *Zur Geschichte der englisch-friesischen Sprache*. Halle a. S.: Niemeyer.
Sipma, Pieter. 1913. *Phonology and grammar of modern West Frisian*. Oxford: Clarendon. (Reprinted in 1966 by the Fryske Akademy.)
—. 1948-49. *Ta it Frysk*. (Three volumes). Ljouwert: R. van der Velde.
Sjölin, Bo. 1969. *Einführung in das Friesische*. Stuttgart: Metzger.
—. 1969. *Min Frysk: Een onderzoek naar het ontstaan van transfer en 'code-switching' in gesproken Fries*. Groningen: Frysk Ynstitút oan de Ryksuniversiteit to Grins.
Smith, James. 1980. *Language use and language attitudes in a bilingual community: Terherne (Friesland)*. Dissertation: Stanford University.
Spenter, Arne. 1968. *Der Vokalismus der akzentuierten Silben der Schiermonnikooger Mundart*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
Sytstra, H.S. 1854-62. *Friesche Spraakkunst*. (Three volumes). Leeuwarden: Meindersma.
Sytstra, Onno Harmens, and Jan Jelles Hof. 1925. *Nieuwe Friesche Spraakkunst*. Leeuwarden: R. van der Velde.
Tamminga, Douwe. 1963/1973. *Op'e taelhelling*. (Two volumes). Boalsert: Osinga.
—. 1963. De tael fan de Súdwesthoeke. *It Beaken* 26: 326-34.
Tiersma, Peter Meijes. 1979. *Aspects of the phonology of Frisian, based on the language of Grou. Meidielingen* 4 of the Frisian Program at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam.
—. 1980. *The lexicon in phonological theory*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
—. 1982. Local and general markedness. *Language* 58: 832-49.
—. 1983. The nature of lexical representation: evidence from breaking in Frisian. *Journal of Linguistics* 19: 59-78.
—. 1986. Language change in a bilingual community: some Frisian data. In *Dutch Linguistics at Berkeley*, ed. by Jeanne van Oosten and Johan P. Snapper. U.C. Berkeley: Dutch Studies Program.

van Blom, Ph. 1889. *Beknopte Friesche spraakkunst*. Joure: Zijlstra.
van Coetsem, Frans. 1956. Heeft de nasalering een fonetische functie in het Fries? *Leuvense Bijdragen* 46: 140-43.
—. 1960. De Friese relativa en conjuncties met *t*. In K. Dykstra *et al.* (1960): 327-334.
van der Kuip, Frits. 1987. Utspraken oer en waarnimmingen fan syllabisearring fan ± 1850 ôf. *Tydskrift foar Fryske Taalkunde* 3: 37-53.
van der Meer, Geart. 1972. Is it de muoite wurdich en lês dit? *Us Wurk* 21-22: 151-66.
—. 1975. The imperativus pro infinitivo reconsidered. *Us Wurk* 24: 19-32.
—. 1976. The phonological interpretation of nasality in Frisian reconsidered. *Us Wurk* 25: 51-62.
—. 1977. Frisian breaking: a hypothesis about its historical development. *Us Wurk* 26: 9-24.
—. 1979. External sandhi in Frisian. In Århammar and Hoekema (1979): 138-54.
—. 1985. Frisian 'breaking': Aspects of the origin and the development of a sound change. Grins/Groningen: SFFYRUG (= *Estrikken* 66).
—. 1987. *It is in dregen baas*. De 'bûgings'*-en* bij eigenskipswurden. *Us Wurk* 36: 97-111.
—. 1988a. *-k*-verbs in some West-Germanic languages. *NOWELE 11*: 51-72; 12: 3-14.
—. 1988b. Reported speech and the position of the finite verb: Some facts from West Frisian. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 77: 301-324.
—. 1989. The so-called imperativus pro infinitivo (ipi) in West Frisian (on the interplay of syntax, semantics and morphology). *NOWELE* 13: 49-85.
—. 1991. The subclause signal *'t* in Frisian: Its origin and function. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 80: 43-59.
—, and Tjeerd de Graaf. 1983. Sandhi phenomena in Frisian. In *Sandhi Phenomena in the Languages of Europe*, ed. by H. Andersen, 301-328. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
van der Veen, K.F. 1980. Praat my net fan praten! In *Coulonnade: Twa-en- tweintich FAriaasjes oanbean oan mr. dr. K. de Vries*, ed. by Ph.H. Breuker, K. Sikkema, and K.F. van der Veen, 122-130. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
van der Woude, G. 1960. Oer it gebrûk fan *'t* by bynwurden. In K. Dykstra *et al.* (1960): 335-43.
—. 1960. Standaardtaal en dialekt in Friesland. *Taal en Tongval* 12: 9-23.
—. 1971. De wjerljocht hat ynslein - De bliksem is ingeslagen; enige aspekts- en tijdaanduidingen in het Fries, vergeleken met het Nederlands. *Driemaandelijkse Bladen* 23: 137-144.
—. 1974/1975. De tiidwurdgroep. *De Pompeblêdden* 45: 229-232; 46: 2-5.
Veenstra, Durk. 1989. /d/-Rotasisme yn it Frysk. Fonetyske en fonologyske aspekten fan de oergong ynterfokalyske /d/ > /r/. *Tydskrift foar Fryske Taalkunde* 5: 41-67.
—. 1991. Ien en oar oer de dialektgeografyske kant fan /d/-rotasisme. *Tydskrift foar Fryske Taalkunde* 6: 1-27.
Visser, Willem. 1985. Ta de nasalearring yn it Frysk. *Tydskrift foar Fryske Taalkunde* 1: 33-49, 69-89.
—. 1988a. Wêrom't progressive assimilaasje yn it Frysk net bestiet. *Tydskrift foar Fryske Taalkunde* 4: 1-20.
—. 1988b. In pear klitisearringsferskynsels yn it Frysk. In De Haan en Dyk (1988): 63-84.

—. 1989. Ta de nominale ynfinityf yn it Frysk. In *Philologia Frisica anno 1988*, 51-74. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.
—. 1990. Breking en de gevolgen. *Interdisciplinair Tijdschrift voor Taal- & Tekstwetenschap* 9: 255-272.
—. 1991. Jitris: nasalearring en rekking. *Tydskrift foar Fryske Taalkunde* 6: 28-37.
—. 1993a. Oer *-je* en *-JE*. De morfology en fonology fan it einichste wurddiel *-je*. *Tydskrift foar Fryske Taalkunde* 7: 69-87.
—. 1993b. In kwestje fan haastjen: oer hoe't yn it Frysk de sekwinsjes *-sts-* en *-tje* mijd wurde. *Tydskrift foar Fryske Taalkunde* 8: 123-130.
—. 1994. Schwa-appendixen in het Fries. In *Dialectfonologie*, ed. by G.E. Booij and J. van Marle, 116-137. Amsterdam: P.J. Meertens-Instituut (*Cahiers van het P.J. Meertens-Instituut*, nr. 6).
—. 1997. *The syllable in Frisian*. The Hague (= HIL Dissertations 30).
Wadman, Anne. 1989. Topikalisaasje fan de NP út in PP. *Us Wurk* 38: 12-24.
Wolf, Henk. 1997. Default-morphological forms in inverted verbal complexes in Frisian. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanischen Linguistik* 40: 249-256.
Zondag, Koen (ed.). 1982. *Bilingual education in Friesland*. Frjentsjer (Franeker): Wever.

INDEX